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ABSTRACT

Chicano school failure can be fully understood only when analyzed in the broadest political, economic, and cultural contexts. Objective economic and political conditions dynamically interrelate with schooling experiences to influence incidences of school success and failure. Any serious effort to reduce Chicano school failure must address the convoluted path to success in a credential society. In this chapter, Hispanic educational and economic conditions (educational attainment, college enrollment, employment, and income) are detailed prior to analysis of strategies to reduce Chicano school failure. Two strategies, compensatory education and the effective school movement, emerged in the past two decades. Neither demands change in the existing political economy, and both, by accepting a social system that tolerates enormous inequality, have as their ultimate goal the equalization of inequality. While compensatory education failed due to its focus on purported individual and cultural deficits, effective schools have some promising features. Effective schools provided evidence that Chicanos can master college preparatory subjects, but it is unclear how such success will affect Chicano advancement in the political economy. The long-term goals of democratic education, on the other hand, are much more ambitious. Democratic education relies on informed student debate and reflection to empower students and prepare them to be fully participating members of society and to take responsibility for society though social action. Research is needed on democratic schooling and its potential for Chicanos and other victims of social bias and discrimination. A final section examines the relationships among research findings, the political acceptability of those findings, and educational policy formation. Contains 77 references. (SV)

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Chapter 10

Systemic and Institutional Factors in Chicano School Failure

Arthur Pearl

Chicano school failure can be fully understood only when analyzed in the broadest political, economic, and cultural contexts. Macropolicies establish the boundaries of possibilities. During periods of economic and political expansion success tends to be non zero-sum. However, when a society is constricting, every success of an individual or a group must be balanced by an equal or greater number of failures. Trying to get a macroperspective on Chicano school failure is no simple task, as information is extremely limited. What exists is uneven, and to make matters more difficult, economic and political systems are undergoing considerable but difficult to understand changes. And yet, for all these problems, there is a need to place the issue we study on a large canvas. This, like any broad-based analysis must be perceived as tentative and provocative rather than conclusive. Particularly important in this analysis is a critique of the impact of policies that influence the configuration of work and promote equal opportunity and the extent to which these policies have hindered or helped Chicano school success. Macropolicies do not exist in a vacuum. Cultural considerations add complexity to the analysis as do accidental events, unpredictable individual relationships and individual efforts by teachers and students.

To make the matter even more confusing is the difficulty of keeping the analysis focused on Chicanos. Most of the available information groups Chicanos with all other Hispanic populations and disaggregation is almost impossible. The history of the experiences (in the United States) of Mexicans, of Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and other immigrants from Latin America are distinctly different and these differences are reflected in schooling success (e.g., Moore and Pachon, 1985; Rumberger, this volume; Velez, 1989). Moreover, even if data were available for solely those with Mexican heritage, problems would remain. Within such a population there are many different considerations. There are profound differences in outlook and behavior of those recently arrived and those who have been in the United States for many generations. There are important political and social differences. The term Chicano came into existence as a political statement; it signified the call for a perspective different than immigrants who wished to assimilate into the existing political economy — Mexican Americans — and different also from those who continued to perceive themselves as strongly

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connected to the motherland — Mexicanos. Chicano stood for liberation from perceived political, economic and cultural oppression within the United States. Some of the original meaning has been lost in the last quarter-century but the problems for analysis remain. Just whom are we talking about? At best we can operate with rough approximations. Part of the definition is imposed from outside by institutional processes, some from individual perceptions, and some from collective movements. Trying to impose order on situations and definitions that are in flux is fraught with danger, but much more dangerous is to be overwhelmed by chaos.

There are some fairly solid places to begin. There are bits and pieces of evidence, when combined, powerfully suggest that Chicanos do not fare well in school, are increasingly poor, and have high incidences of involvement with crime. The evidence is not powerful enough to lead to a firm conclusion of why this is so. Neither of the two divergent principle theses — 'deficit' explanations, that place the cause of these problems on the individual family or culture, and the structural explanations that postulate etiology in the institutions and societal structure — are firmly established. If cause has not been determined to anyone's satisfaction, proposals for change are on an extremely rocky foundation. Nevertheless, the argument made here posits the cause of Chicanos to be in societal structure and, thus, the proposals for remedy are also largely structural. First, however a brief summary of the factors considered in the analysis.

The Relationship of Economic Conditions and Chicano Educational Success

Many different variables and conditions must be considered before the relation between the economic conditions and educational success of Chicanos in school can be fully understood. One aspect of the relation is the condition of the economy. During periods of rapid growth, opportunities are created to the benefit of those normally excluded from rewarding economic lives. A drop in unemployment does not necessarily lead to an increase in schooling performance among Chicanos and others who have been consigned to marginal economic existences. For Chicanos, a surging economy can lead to better schooling performance as optimism influences daily family activities and expectations for the future, but economic advance could conceivably have the opposite effect — students could leave school to take advantage of new job offerings. A depressed economy can lead to a general state of depression influencing youngsters in school. More importantly, when poverty gets concentrated in a particular area, neighborhood, ghetto or barrio, the inevitable result is a marked increase in criminal activity. Criminal activity is inimical to successful schooling. The effect is not only on individuals, it translates into an ethos, a way at looking at the world.

Political direction has an important bearing on school performance. When the emphasis is in providing political support for Chicanos — categorical aid, affirmative action, financial aid, etc. — school performance changes. The change is not universal and sometimes the incentives tend to be counterproductive. There has been a general tendency to lump all 'categorical aid' and anti-poverty

measures together and thereby dismiss them. In fact, some programs were very successful while others may have been destructive. Only with a careful analysis of particular programs — something that was rarely done — can the impact of government-sponsored programs be accurately assessed. When the emphasis is on political direction, the issue is not whether a program is good or bad but whether there is political will to support any program — good *or* bad. Later, some brief comments will be made about the qualities of good and bad 'government' programs. The crucial consideration today is the prevailing negative attitude among political leaders for such programs. Tied to the issue of political direction of a country is Chicano influence on that direction. Chicano political power has not been nearly proportionate to its potential voter base (Moore and Pachon, 1985). The relation between political powerlessness in the broadest sense and school failure is part of the equation that has not been sufficiently explored.

One application of political power is influence over school policy and practice. School policy and practices in turn are crucial determinants of school performance. It is conceivable that Chicano power or powerlessness could be irrelevant because for over twenty-five years there has been a declared national commitment to improving the educational performance of the economically disadvantaged. These efforts can take one of two forms: repairing alleged deficits, or changing school structures. Political power is important in determining which direction schools take. If the powerlessness results in an ineffective approach then powerlessness becomes a crucial issue in school failure. The effectiveness of repairing deficit and altering structures is considered in this essay.

School is an increasingly important intervening institution in the political economy. In many ways school has become the dominant status flow institution. In a society that claims to be one that provides everyone equal opportunity, schools direct students to different walks of life. Desirable employment has educational prerequisites and students without these prerequisites cannot be considered for such employment. For most of the twentieth century the United States has been rapidly progressing into a credential society. Increasingly economic status correlates highly with the degree attained from schooling. The trend has been, until very recently, for the number of college degrees awarded to be in rough equivalence to the available positions requiring such degrees. A person graduating from college had a reasonable assurance that a decent career was there for the asking. The higher one went in school, the better paying occupation one had available to him or her. Actually, this situation was more true when higher education in the US was a White male province. Two very important changes have taken place over the past few decades. The number of university students has increased significantly. The shape of the work world has also changed enormously.

The increase in college enrollments has been dramatic. Almost 9 million more students were enrolled in colleges and universities in 1985 than were enrolled in 1960. This increase represents a dramatic change in the life activities of young people. Over the past twenty-five years, college went from a privilege for élite youth to something the majority of youth experienced. The demography of higher education has also changed — what was once a male preserve has become increasingly female — in 1960, 64 per cent of college students were male; in 1985, more than half were female. In some ways the changes may indicate the success an anti-sexism campaign in education has had (see Table 10.1).

Table 10.1 Postsecondary student enrollments (1960–1985): United States (in millions)

	Year					
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
Total	3.6	5.7	7.4	10.9	11.4	12.5
Male	2.3	3.5	4.4	5.9	5.4	5.9
Female	1.2	2.2	3.0	5.0	6.0	6.6
% male	63.9%	61.4%	59.5%	54.1%	47.4%	47.2%
Rate 100,000[1]	375	na	387	443	651	791

Note: 1 ages 18–21; na = not available
Source: *US Statistical Abstract* — 1987

Table 10.2 Median years school completed by race/ethnicity, 1970–1985

	Year		
	1970	1980	1985
Race/Ethnicity			
White	12.1	12.5	12.7
Black	9.8	12.0	12.3
Hispanic	9.1	10.8	11.5

Source: *US Statistical Abstract* — 1987

When only a small percentage of students went to college, those that did attend were somewhat buffered from the vicissitudes of the economy. Because the numbers of college students were relatively small and the employment opportunities were large, only cataclysmic events, such as major depressions, negatively impacted college graduates. Those with limited education, however, were most vulnerable during economic slowdowns. What has not been determined is the nature of the relation. Is the relation between college education and economic success caused by the college experience, or is the opportunity to go to college largely given to those who have certain economic advantages? Is the primary purpose of school the reproduction of the existing social system (Apple, 1979; Bowles and Gintis, 1976)? Or, are schools to become the 'great equalizer' that Horace Mann (1848) insisted that they could be? In a general sense this chapter attempts not only to answer those questions but also suggests policies and practices consistent with the answer. Whatever the primary purpose of education, there is no disputing that at the present time, Hispanics *in toto*, and Chicanos in particular, have limited schooling success and limited economic success and there is some kind of relation between these two conditions.

Hispanics as an aggregate group — Chicanos, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, South Americans — have lower school grade attainment than either Anglos or Blacks and while the gap has narrowed over the last fifteen years, the differences remain large. When compared with Blacks and Anglos, only the Hispanic (median) has less than a high school education (see Table 10.2).

Not surprisingly, Hispanic high school dropout statistics are consistent with years of school completed. Different studies, using different definitions of dropout and different populations, nonetheless come to the same conclusions. As

Table 10.3: Studies by race and ethnicity (per cent dropout)

	Anglo	Black	Hispanic
Study			
High School and Beyond[1]	14.4	18.0	25.4
Los Angeles Schools[2]	7.6	9.9	9.9 (1 yr)
High School Dropouts[3]	12.0	17.0	18.0
California Department of Education[4]	15.3	27.7	28.8

Sources:
[1] *National Center for Educational Statistics, 1983*
[2] *Research and Evaluation Branch, Los Angeles School District, 1986*
[3] *US Department of Education, Center for Education Statistics, 1985*
[4] *California State Department of Education, 1980*

Table 10.4: Income of households by educational achievement by race and ethnicity, 1984

Education	Annual Mean Income		
	White	Black	Hispanic*
less than 8 years	$14,501	$11,321	$15,219
8 years	$17,002	$12,164	$16,288
1–3 years high school	$19,894	$14,041	$17,061
4 years high school	$26,541	$18,427	$23,429
1–3 years college	$30,215	$21,700	$27,261
4 or more years college	$43,642	$32,057	$37,339

* Hispanic refers to all persons where Spanish surname predominates — includes those of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc., descent
Source: United States Statistical Abstract — 1987.

shown in Table 10.3, Hispanics, more than Blacks or Anglos will leave school prior to high school graduation (see also Rumberger, in this volume).

School attainment correlates with income for all ethnic groups. Families whose breadwinners have the most education earn the most money. This relation is not as strong for Hispanics as it is for other racial/ethnic groups (see Table 10.4). Hispanics with less than an eighth grade education tend to earn more than either Anglos and Blacks. And while education beyond a college degree brings more economic return for Hispanics than it does for Blacks, that amount of education earns considerably less for them than it does for Whites. If decisions about life are made on the basis of collected aggregated statistics, Hispanics would have good reason to believe that they have less to gain from continuation in school than do Anglos. The statistics indicate that school is less important for them than it is for Blacks. And while it is highly unlikely that medium family income is a conscious consideration of students in their dedication to schooling, the relation nonetheless is sufficiently consistent that it must be adequately explained.

If Hispanics drop out of school far more often than do Blacks and Anglos, it would follow that they would be underrepresented in higher education and that certainly is the case. In 1986, more than 27 per cent of public school enrollments in California were Hispanic (the vast majority of these are of Mexican heritage), but Hispanics constituted only 8.4 per cent of University of California enrollees,

Table 10.5 University of California admissions: underrepresentation and overrepresentation by race and ethnicity, 1986

	American Indian	Black	Hispanic	Pilipino	Asian	White
Public school enrollments	9%	9.7%	27.9%	1.8%	6.7%	53.1%
UC enrollments	6%	4.7%	8.4%	3.0%	14.4%	68.9%
UC BA degrees	4%	2.5%	4.9%	1.2%	13.1%	75.0%
UC doctorate degrees	—	2.4%	4.1%	—	8.4%	85.1%

Source: *University of California, Santa Cruz, EOP.*

Table 10.6 Unemployment rates of high school graduates and dropouts: Anglos v. Hispanics, persons aged 16 and over, 1975, 1980 and 1986

	1975		1980		1986	
	Graduate	Dropout	Graduate	Dropout	Graduate	Dropout
Unemployment rates						
White	8.4	14.0	5.9	11.6	7.0	13.5
Hispanic	10.5	18.4	7.1	14.3	8.9	17.1

Source: *US Statistical Abstract* — 1987.

and less than 5 per cent of bachelor degrees were awarded to Hispanics. Hispanics received an even smaller percentage of doctoral degrees. At every step of the educational process Hispanics lose ground (see Table 10.5).

There are few positive signs in this picture, but the few should not be overlooked. The number of Hispanics receiving doctorate degrees from the University of California increased from sixteen in 1976 to fifty-nine to 1986 (from 1.2 per cent to 4.1 per cent).

Hispanics not only trail Anglos in educational accomplishment and family income; they are also more likely to be unemployed. Hispanic unemployment is high for Hispanic graduates; it is much higher for Hispanics whose schooling was terminated before high school graduation (Table 10.6).

As previously mentioned, being Hispanic obscures some significant relations. Some groups within this classification do much better than others. Persons of Cuban extraction have lower unemployment rates than persons who trace their origins to Mexico. Cuban Americans also are more likely to work in higher paid occupations than Mexican Americans. Unemployment of those with Mexican heritage parallels somewhat the unemployment of those with Puerto Rican heritage, although Mexican extraction males have a slightly higher unemployment rate than Puerto Ricans. The unemployment of Puerto Rican females is considerably higher than Mexican American women (Table 10.7). There are some similarities in experiences that all Hispanics share but there are considerable differences as well. Chicanos (broadly defined) are by far the largest group and the fastest growing in the United States (see Valencia, chapter 1, this volume). Chicanos are more concentrated in the West, Puerto Ricans in the East. Econom-

Table 10.7 Unemployment rates, professional employment: Hispanics, 1984

Unemployment	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Other Hispanic
Males	12.6%	11.8%	8.6%	8.9%
Females	11.9%	15.6%	4.8%	11.5%
Employed in Managerial/ Professional Positions	9.4%	13.1%	20.0%	16.7%

Source: *US Statistical Abstract* — 1987

ic and political conditions differ greatly in these areas, and yet all are part of an economy that is increasingly global.

The dearth of Hispanic (Chicano) college graduates has a direct effect on Hispanic school experiences. As the Hispanic population grows, the number of Hispanics available to teach them declines. A large Hispanic student population with few or no Hispanic teachers is generally recognized as a negative condition (Valencia and Aburto, in press). Some theorists lament the lack of role models, others the lack of cultural understanding, others unfamiliarity with the language spoken by students, and still others the lack of visible examples of achieved success in lawful activities. Yet others focus on the the reproduction of those conditions that led to the limited school success of generations that preceded those now in school. Whatever the cause, it should be apparent that significant improvement in Chicano school experiences will be more difficult without a significant increase of Chicanos as teachers and administrators (Valencia and Aburto, in press). But where will these teachers come from? This is an especially difficult question to answer since the Chicano college population increases by only a trickle and the demand for them by different employer groups grows rapidly.

There is a source of potential Chicano teachers that is largely untapped — the non-professionals who work for the school districts. In the twenty-five largest districts in California that serve 30 per cent of California's 4.4 million K-12 students, almost 40 per cent of the students are Hispanic; less than 10 per cent of the teachers are Hispanic; and almost 25 per cent of the classified staff are Hispanic. In every one of these districts, more Hispanics work for the district as non-professionals than work as professionals. In fact, there are almost three times as many non-professional Hispanics than professional Hispanics employed by California's twenty-five largest school districts (Table 10.8). A strategy to increase Chicano teachers and administrators by resurrecting a different approach to credentialling is described and critiqued in the New Careers section of this chapter. Elevating non-professionals to professionals in addition to directly reducing Chicano poverty has, as an additional value, the potential of changing the dynamics of politics within a school district and, if organized, having an impact in the local community, the state, and the nation.

The official government position is that, contrary to all of the information depicting the economic decline of Hispanics (including Chicanos, presumably), they have benefitted from recent economic expansion. 'The 1983–86 civilian employment of Hispanic workers has risen 2.3 million since the expansion began'

Table 10.8: Hispanics in California's twenty-five largest school districts, 1987–88

	Students			Teachers			Classified Employees		
	Total	Hispanic	%	Total	Hispanic	%	Total	Hispanic	%
Los Angeles	589,311	334,954	56.8	25,071	2,564	10.2	26,606	7,565	28.4
San Diego	116,557	25,357	21.8	5,168	438	8.5	5,688	956	16.8
Long Beach	66,253	17,072	25.8	2,836	128	4.5	4,007	467	11.6
San Francisco	63,881	11,773	18.4	3,108	232	7.5	3,413	508	14.9
Fresno	61,539	20,245	32.9	2,233	280	10.2	1,804	770	25.5
Oakland	51,298	6,631	12.9	2,283	119	5.2	2,850	300	10.5
San Juan	46,710	2,172	4.6	2,183	66	3.0	1,996	79	4.0
Sacramento	46,064	8,098	17.6	1,941	131	6.8	2,298	415	18.1
Santa Ana	38,184	28,792	75.4	1,601	224	14.0	1,504	787	52.3
Garden Grove	36,289	10,031	27.6	1,494	35	2.3	1,743	178	10.2
San Bernardino	35,033	11,940	33.8	1,442	180	12.5	1,861	536	28.8
Mount Diablo	31,763	2,308	7.3	1,445	37	2.6	1,108	73	6.6
Montebello	31,154	25,986	83.4	1,167	401	34.4	970	970	72.6
Stockton	31,050	9,879	31.8	1,315	135	10.3	1,438	440	30.6
San Jose	29,333	10,320	35.2	1,508	150	10.0	2,958	995	33.6
Richmond	28,222	3,509	12.4	1,307	70	5.4	1,480	169	11.4
Riverside	27,474	6,542	23.8	1,117	73	6.5	1,035	314	30.3
Sweetwater	26,285	13,650	51.9	1,049	161	15.4	874	361	41.3
Compton	26,205	10,976	41.9	1,134	28	2.5	1,459	214	14.7
Fremont	25,974	2,821	10.9	1,138	32	2.8	963	88	9.1
Orange	24,618	4,332	17.6	1,066	62	5.9	1,291	248	19.2
Pomona	23,852	11,764	49.3	1,007	149	14.8	978	365	37.3
Hacienda	22,762	12,262	53.9	994	104	10.5	1,053	450	42.7
East Side/San Jose	22,507	7,071	31.4	968	165	17.0	683	229	33.5
Saddleback	22,294	1,393	6.2	927	23	2.5	912	71	7.8
TOTAL	1,524,612	599,878	39.3	65,502	5,987	9.1	70,972	17,548	24.7

Source: California Basic Educational Data System (CBEDS)

Table 10.9 Hispanic poverty in the United States, 1985

Total Hispanic Population in Poverty	5.2 million
Median Family Income	$19,027
Hispanics in Poverty	29.0%
Number of Children under age 18 in Poverty	2.6 million
Children in Poverty	40.0%
Hispanic Elderly in Poverty	23.9%
Married couples in Poverty	12.2% Black
	6.1% White
	17.0% Hispanic
Female-headed Families in Poverty	50.5% Black
	53.1% Hispanic
Children in Poverty in Female-headed Families	66.9% Black
	72.4% Hispanic
Men in Poverty	27.4% Black
	27.4% Hispanic
Hispanic Poverty in the US South	27.7%
in the US West	26.0%
Full-time Employees in Poverty	1 in 15 Hispanic Workers*

* Higher than Black or White
Source: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (1985)

(*Economic Report of the President*, 1988, p. 59). It is further claimed that the growth is in good jobs, '. . . nearly two-thirds of the new employment growth has been in managerial, professional, technical, sales or precision production occupations' (*ibid.*, pp. 60–1). However, another branch of the Government, the US Labor Department, provides statistics that are not that glowing — projecting far more growth in janitor, nurse, and truck driver jobs in the next decade than growth in computer programers or other jobs that demand advanced educational requirements (*US Statistical Abstract*, 1987).

Also contradicting the positive description of Chicano employment is the prevalence of Hispanic poverty. Hispanics are deeply mired in poverty and the condition is worsening. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities reports Hispanic poverty has risen during the past decade and if the trend continues, Hispanics soon will be more impoverished than the more dramatically emphasized American underclass — Blacks. In 1985, nearly 3 in 10 Hispanics were poor. Forty per cent of Hispanics under the age of 18 were poor. More than half of Hispanic female-headed families were poor; almost three-quarters of children in these families were poor (Table 10.9).

The US Census Bureau provides evidence of the increase in Hispanic poverty, reporting a decline in median family income of Spanish-origin families (the catch-all category used by the Census Bureau) from a high of $21,097 (1985 dollars) in 1973 to $19,027 (1985 dollars) in 1985 (*US Statistical Abstract*, 1987; see Valencia, chapter 1, for more Recent data.)

In a sense, the *Economic Report of the President* and its claim for a rapid increase in 'good' jobs and the Labor Department projections of large growth in low-paying, no educational prerequisites, dead-ended positions are both correct. A very peculiar change is occurring in the configuration of work in the United States — the middle is disappearing while the top and the bottom are growing.

The numbers of executives, professionals and 'high-tech' occupations are increasing rapidly, but so too are low-level service, clerical, semi-skilled and unskilled positions. The work world is simultaneously calling for more education and for a 'dumbing down'. The bridge jobs that enable people to move up the ladder are being eliminated (Hodgkinson, 1988). The change has many implications for education. The alternatives of either security or poverty and nothing in between will intensify the competition for desirable jobs and for that which leads to those occupations. The present is foretelling the future; in 1986, 20 per cent of college graduates were hired in jobs that required no college education (Hodgkinson, 1988). The competition for what appears to be a growing scarcity of higher education admissions and professional careers after graduation almost certainly will be divisive and threaten the limited gains that have been made by Chicanos and other minorities. Without an organized political strategy to recreate the middle and generate more openings at the top, the most likely consequence will be more intense and destructive rivalry between minority groups and within them.

Adding to the already complicated internal dynamics of the United States is the crush of those who want to enter it. Two-thirds of all emigrants in the world come to the United States; one-third of these settle in California. The immigrants come to the US to escape poverty, oppression, and the devastation of war. They are from all areas of the world, and are culturally, linguistically, and ethnically varied. They add significantly to the challenges of schooling and the political economy. California, the largest of the union's states, more than any other augurs its future.

California's population increased by 5 million in the past decade, and it is projected to grow by 5 million a decade for the foreseeable future. California is the nation's most wealthy state with the most diverse economy. Its $14 billion annual agricultural industry is somewhat troubled, but the decline suffered in this area is more than balanced by a yearly infusion of $28 billion in defense contracts. A substantial cutback in the defense budget, however, would wreak havoc with California's economy. California is important in 'high tech' but not as important as the Northeastern US, where 35 per cent of the major corporations are located. The annual income per workers covered by Workman Compensation in California is high ($23,100 in 1987). Only workers in Washington, DC ($28,477), Alaska ($28,008), New York ($24,634), Connecticut ($24,322) and New Jersey ($23,842) had higher average wages that year (US Labor Department, 1988). For all of its wealth, California does not invest much in elementary and secondary school education. In the school year of 1986–87, $3,751 was spent on every student in California, which was $219 less than the national average, $2,548 less than New York's expenditure, and over $1,000 less than Pennsylvania's investment in students (Guthrie *et al.*, 1988). The differences in per student expenditures are not reflected in large interstate discrepancies in teacher salaries; they show up in class sizes. California pupil-teacher ratios (23:1) are five students larger than the national average and over seven more students per teacher than is found in New York. If the investment in education in California was the same as it was in New York the result would not necessarily be higher paid teachers. It would, however, produce more teachers. Increasing the number of teachers in California by roughly one-fourth would bring 50,000 more people into the profession, would significantly increase the number of jobs in the middle-income

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range of occupations, and would create opportunities for Chicanos and other underrepresented minorities in teaching. A much larger number of Chicanos could take advantage of these opportunities if a means (such as New Careers) were created to allow non-professional employees of schools to become professionals.

California's niggardly investment in education is the logical consequence of two initiatives passed by the voters. One restricted the ability of local districts to raise money ('Proposition 13', or the 'Jarvis Amendment' enacted June 6, 1978); the other limited the State Government tax increases to population growth and inflation ('Proposition 4' or the 'Gann Amendment' enacted in 1979). The limitations are particularly severe on minority populations who are younger and more likely to have children, with Chicanos being the most hard hit. California ranks forty-third in the nation's states in per cent of population under age 18 and thirty-fourth in per cent over 65. 'The average US white is 31 years old, the average black is 25, the average Hispanic is 22.... Add to this the current Chicano fertility rate of 2.9 children per female and the white birth rate of 1.7 children per female' (Hodgkinson, 1986, p. 2) and the implications of the 'read my lips' (George Bush) no tax increase refrain of the leading politicians in both parties is clear: for Chicanos to succeed in school, they will have to do more with less. Even if the resistance to increasing taxes was overcome, schools would not necessarily benefit. Those generated funds would go to education only if a successful coalition for that purpose was organized. Such a coalition would have to include those without children, a goodly number of whom are over the age of 65 with growing unmet needs of their own. If this kind of political alliance is not difficult enough, adding another degree of complication is the element of race — those without children tend to be White, while those with school-age children are increasingly racial/ethnic minorities. In the present political climate, these interest groups find themselves in adversarial relationships; finding ways to establish a common ground with a common vision is not given sufficient consideration in the current effort to reduce Chicano school failure.

Not too long ago race was a Black-White issue. That oversimplification contributed to a failure to reduce inequality. Latinos rightfully objected to the lack of attention given them in the early days of the anti-poverty program. Race and ethnicity are much more entangled today. In 1979, 83 per cent of all immigrants to the United States came from Asia and Latin America and were equally divided between the two (Hodgkinson, 1986). In the absence of a unifying vision, the more diverse the population the more difficult it is to build effective political coalitions. Alliances between minorities have always been difficult to maintain. Part of the history of the United States has been conscious efforts at divide and conquer. With policies that drive wedges between minorities, establishing and sustaining inter-minority coalitions becomes even more difficult. Hispanics are not necessarily unified or unifiable. The Chicano population is by far the largest contingent, representing 60 per cent of all Hispanics in the United States in 1980 (US Bureau of the Census 1980). By 1990 Chicanos are projected to constitute 69 per cent of all Hispanics in the United States (US Bureau of the Census, 1980). (The current figure is closer to 63 per cent; see Valencia, chapter 1.) In 1980, 40 per cent of US Hispanics drew their heritage from seventeen countries other than Mexico — the largest single proportion from

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Table 10.10 California median family income, 1983

Race/Ethnicity	Income
Japanese	$27,388
Chinese	24,409
Asian Indians	23,722
Pilipino	23,586
White	22,784
Korean	20,713
Hispanics (all)	16,087
Black	14,887
Vietnamese	11,852

Source: Hodgkinson, (1986)

Puerto Rico (14 per cent in 1989, projected to decline to 12 per cent in 1990; US Bureau of the Census, 1980). For the various Hispanic immigrant groups, there is no assurance that they will automatically come together now that the US is their home.

One-third of the 5 million US Asian-Americans live in California. Asian-Americans, like Hispanics, have a wide range of different backgrounds and cultures. Most numerous are immigrants whose roots are China, Japan and the Philippines; growing rapidly, however, are Asian-Indians, Koreans, and Vietnamese. Chinese and Vietnamese hostility has a long history and there is nothing in the current political framework that will transform that hostility into an alliance. There is an enormous discrepancy in Asian-American income. Median Asian-American income is both California's highest and lowest (Table 10.10).

The new mix may be politically destabilizing. Black power that has been a factor in promoting issues of equality may be effectively undermined by the new and soon-to-be-larger groups that do not have a similar history of effective political action. As Blacks decline, who will replace them? And how will this emerging group come together to be a force for a coherent political program? Unless a new political thrust comes into prominence, a more ethnically diverse United States, even one whose majority is 'minority', may be more easily controlled by a White minority than it is now. That control may also result in very high levels of crime, poverty, and social unrest.

The detailing of the economic and educational condition of Hispanics — and by inference Chicanos — sets the stage for the analysis that follows. This is especially important because the thrust of the paper is that objective economic and political conditions are the important variables that dynamically interrelate with schooling experiences influencing incidences of school success and failure. Any serious effort to reduce Chicano school failure must address the convoluted path to success in a credential society, and the failure that results when one is denied access to those credentials. In such an analysis, logistics — for example, being where the jobs are — as well as the effectiveness of interventions at critical stages in the lengthy stochastic process of schooling must be given serious and thorough treatment. The analysis is particularly difficult because it requires both an ongoing assessment of the opportunity structure and the individuals and groups striving for success within the constraints of that system. The more restricted the opportunities, the greater the number of failures.

Over the course of the past two decades, two strategies have emerged to reduce Chicano school failure. The first was a compensatory effort designed to eliminate attributed deficiencies that Chicanos (and other disadvantaged groups) brought into the schools; the second — which developed as a response to the compensatory strategy — the Effective School, was designed to provide Chicanos with the identical school program the advantaged received. Both of these efforts are conservative in the sense that neither demands change in the existing political economy. Both, by accepting a social system that tolerates enormous inequality, have as the ultimate goal — the equalizing of inequality.

In a political economy that has built into its structure unemployment, poverty and insufficient good jobs for all who aspire to them the best possible result is an equalization of inequality. Equal opportunity in such circumstances would require every group — ethnic minority, gender, etc. — to have the identical proportion in good jobs and in institutions that are prerequisite for good jobs. The feasibility of such a strategy will be critiqued, as are proposals that aim at restructuring aspects of the political economy.

Strategies to Reduce Chicano School Failure

The Compensatory Education Strategy

The Compensatory Approach has been the primary response to the conditions briefly reviewed above. This strategy consists of a number of activities designed to remediate certain specified problems of educability. The logic of the strategy is that our society has overcome its historical injustices and has reached a point where all its citizens are treated fairly and equally. The strategy is a school-centered one, with this reasoning: given the existence of a credential society, a school that provides everyone with an equal chance to obtain a credential will successfully fulfill its function as a great equalizer. Thus, the strategy focus is on eliminating the scars that remain from past injustices. Once it is assumed that an equal society exists there is no need to be concerned with institutional change. The strategy, because it is not involved in systemic change, acts as a gyroscope for the status quo. Moreover, the approach is extremely circumscribed. Larger issues of unemployment and the configuration of work are ignored. And with the exception of self-serving activity of a special interest group brought into existence by the strategy — e.g., paraprofessionals, compensatory educators, and administrators — the strategy is apolitical. As originally formulated, it was almost exclusively an early intervention strategy. The dominant theoretical explanation for disproportionate school failure of the poor and the minority was 'accumulated environmental deficit' — that is, students entered school with a build-up of handicaps incurred in early formative years that would be irreversible unless significant action was taken when children were very young (Deutsch, 1967; Hunt, 1961). If, however, intervention begins early enough the child can recover from the lack of intellectual stimulation at home and the dearth of language (Bernstein, 1970; Engelmann, 1970). The compensation for the deficits that are hypothesized to have occurred before a child enters school results in the leveling of the playing field giving everyone an equal chance at a desirable future. From a game's free

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Figure 10.1: Early intervention strategy

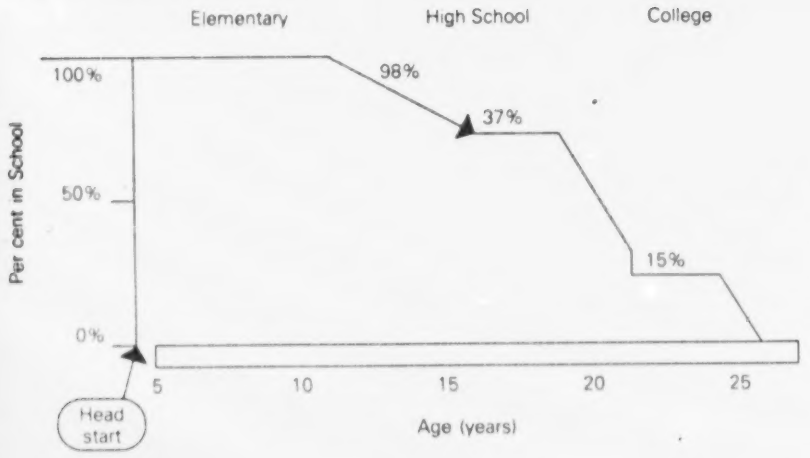


Table 10.11: Head Start results, autumn 1984: A comparison between Head Start and control cohort at age of 19

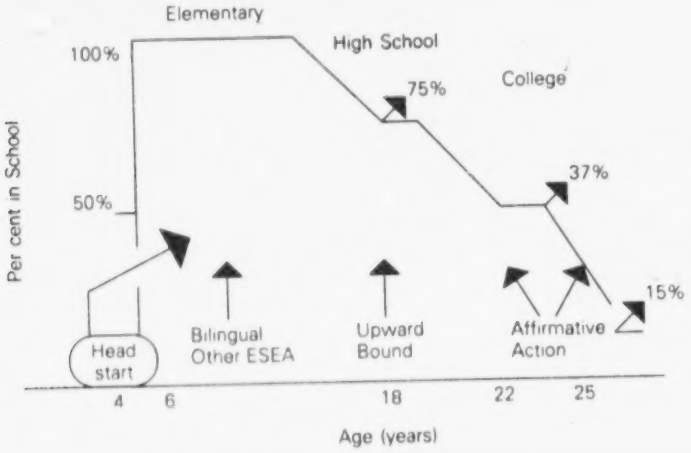
	Head Start	Control
Employed	59%	32%
High School Graduate	67%	49%
Enrolled in College	38%	21%
Been Arrested	31%	51%
On Welfare	18%	32%

Source: Hodgkinson (1988) derived from High/Scope Foundation, Michigan, September 1984

perspective the logic of the intervention is to get the student as quickly as possible into the mainstream (Figure 10.1).

The key element in the early intervention strategy was Operation Head Start. Initiated in 1965, as the show-case case element in President Johnson's fledgling anti-poverty program, it, unlike many other 'Great Society' projects, survived and even prospered. In 1985, an average of 452,000 children were enrolled every month in Head Start programs at a total annual cost of 1.3 billion dollars (*US Statistical Abstract*, 1987). There is some evidence that Head Start has been effective. When a cohort consisting of 19-year-olds with Head Start experience is compared with a same age control (fifteen years after beginning involvement with Head Start) there are some impressive findings. Those with Head Start experience are more likely to be employed, graduate from high school, go on to college, and are less likely to have been arrested or be on welfare (Hodgkinson, 1988) (Table 10.11). The impressive findings for Head Start are not necessarily a vindication for the strategy. The Head Start cohort has, for all its accomplishments, a large percentage not graduating from high school, a substantial arrest record, and a large percentage unemployed. The percentage of Head Start cohort

Figure 10.2: Total compensatory strategy for equal education



college enrollees is much lower than the percentage of college admissions from advantaged backgrounds. The most favorable reading of Head Start is that while it did not eliminate disadvantagement, poverty may have been worse without it.

In reality, for all of the theoretical emphasis on the importance of early intervention, the compensatory strategy did not put all of its emphasis on a single action. From its beginning and throughout the quarter century of its existence, bits and pieces were added to the compensatory strategy at every stage of a student's schooling career. Over the years the approach has become increasingly protean. By adding components at every level of schooling — whatever it may have gained in additional weaponry against disadvantagement — it lost in theoretical clarity. Not included in the range of compensatory tactics was a serious consideration of possible institutionally imposed unequal treatments, nor was there any effort to bring into the approach activities that would take into account the rapid changes occurring outside of the school that could conceivably impact student performance. The emphasis has been on repairing damaged goods and the collection of thrusts ranged from remedial programs for elementary and secondary students — including bilingual education for limited- and non-English-speaking students, migrant education (Elementary and Secondary Education Act — ESEA) and affirmative action to create opportunites for the underrepresented (Upward Bound and other special admissions to college and inclusion of the underrepresented in hiring practices; see Figure 10.2).

Depending on its focus, bilingual education can fit into any strategy. From a compensatory perspective, anything other than English is considered to be a handicap and thus, bilingual education is instituted as a means to facilitate students into the mainstream and is discontinued as soon as the student gains facility in English. This perspective on bilingual education has engendered considerable opposition and has been used as a focal point for mobilizing political action against 'special treatment' for the disadvantaged and for reasserting the common core of 'Americanism' (e.g., Epstein, 1977). If educational funds con-

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tinue to be tight, the attack against special treatment will intensify. For example, US English, a group that has emerged as an opponent of bilingual education has been able to coalesce a range of support with highly emotional and sometimes disingenuous campaigns. Whether a compensatory version of bilingual education is politically winnable, or whether compensatory bilingual education is where the stand on bilingualism should be taken, are issues that need to be fully debated.

Affirmative action is another highly controversial aspect of compensatory education (see Figure 10.2). Hiring and admitting underrepresented populations into employment or higher education makes good sense from a compensatory perspective if the intervention is perceived to be a temporary adjustment to be employed only until the other compensatory catchup efforts have been given time to be effective. An early intervention strategy would take two decades to reach a favorable conclusion. Until Head Start students (and ESEA, bilingual, etc.) are able to graduate from school, a tactic of admitting persons with 'less qualifications' is intellectually and politically defensible. If affirmative action continues beyond that reasonable time, however, the compensatory justification for it is weakened and the political opposition to it grows. The cries of 'reverse discrimination' are becoming increasingly shrill and the responses to that cry, using a compensatory logic, are increasingly unpersuasive. The mismatch between ethnicity of teachers and students has not been significantly altered by affirmative action. The strategy has not resulted in equal representation of minorities into the professions or into institutions leading to professional careers or anything near that, but that has not silenced an adamant opposition far more vociferous than the limited impact would seem to have warranted.

The compensatory strategy is a top-down strategy. It was designed by an intellectual élite for persons deemed to be inferior to it. As a consequence, the approach never developed a substantial constituency. 'Deficits of the world unite, you have no brains to lose' is not a very inspirational rallying cry. Compensatory education was not designed as a political movement. To the contrary, it was an effort to employ science for the benefit of the species. Thus, it has tried to defend itself on the basis of accomplishment rather than constituency. As lofty as such a conception might be, the system does not work that way. Education interventions are political. Compensatory education came into being because the political times were right for it, and the administration in power built it into its program. At the present time, compensatory education suffers from both a lack of strong scientific support and from a dwindling of political support; it continues primarily because of inertia.

In that compensatory education is not a system change strategy, its goal is for a fairer representation of Chicanos and other minorities in the political economy. It is doubtful that even the most fervent supporters of the compensatory strategy foresaw a time of complete equalization of inequality. The programs were initiated at a time of rising expectations for the economy and the belief was expressed by many economists that in the not too distant future (less than a quarter century) poverty in the United States would be completely eliminated. Therefore, even if inequality would remain, no one would be poor. Times have changed; economists no longer project a poverty-free future, and therefore, expectations of a compensatory strategy have to be scaled down accordingly. At best, it would now be argued that effective compensatory programs would enable people to gain employment in growth industries. The strategy may not

achieve equality, but it should improve employability. The difficulty with determining the validity of that thesis is the time gap between the reception of compensatory education and entrance into the job market. The longer the period between the educational intervention and the beginning of an adult work life, the more slippage there is in the system. Without immediate tangible rewards as students — and without a clear indication of a gratifying future — many Chicanos become willing accessories to a process that shunts them out of education as dropouts or as juvenile delinquents years before they could enter into an economically advantageous life career. The effort to increase Chicano participation in desirable facets of the political economy through cumulative compensatory efforts is contrasted with 'New Career' strategies discussed later in this chapter. In 'New Careers', the work world is changed to accommodate the characteristics of the applicants. The job comes first and education and training are offered afterwards. In the former instance, the Chicano (or other underrepresented person) has to climb a ladder fraught with pitfalls before entering the work world. In the latter case, climbing the ladder occurs after entrance into an occupation. The compensatory strategy seemingly has made little or no progress in stimulating Chicanos to become teachers, nor has it prevented Chicanos to continue to slide further into poverty.

The long time lapse between the interventions and the terminal condition makes evaluation of any particular compensatory program exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. The programs conceivably could have worked at cross purposes and the whole may be less effective than some of the component parts. Future research should try to establish how much improvement, if any, can be attributed to a particular intervention. Perhaps of greater importance is the possible serendipitous gain from parent empowerment, minority paraprofessional employment and positive teacher expectation (possibly compromised and overbalanced by an increase in negative expectations of performance by 'intellectually handicapped students'), that has accompanied compensatory programs. Head Start, for example, did much more than bring preschool educational enrichment to ghettos and barrios; it also infused poor communities with buying power, provided some limited opportunity for parents of the children to receive higher education and become politically mobilized. These programs also provided nutrition and health services and advice to parents. The possible political and economic stimulation has been inadequately considered in Head Start analysis, and, as a consequence, its most significant impacts may be overlooked.

When concern is focused on Chicano school failure, it must be remembered that Chicanos were an afterthought in the compensatory education movement. Thus, the activities were not specifically designed for Chicanos. The research on which the movement was based was not on Chicanos; the political support did not come from Chicanos, and the political benefits, as little as they were, were not directed to Chicanos. Whatever its other merits, compensatory education was not an 'of the Chicanos, by the Chicanos, and for the Chicanos' program.

In sum, allowing for the paucity of relevant data and the recognition that the final effects of the compensatory strategy may not have been fully realized, it is still possible to say with certainty that, if the goal of the approach was to overcome poverty and to substantially reduce inequality in educational achievement, the strategy has failed. The inability to make substantial progress toward equality led Arthur Jensen to state in the now famous introduction to his highly

influential article that, 'compensatory education has been tried and it apparently has failed' (Jensen, 1969, p. 2). Jensen — without any consideration of other possibilities — decided that a disproportionately large number of Blacks and Chicanos were genetically incapable of learning much of anything that was complicated. We look now to a possibility that Jensen never gave credence — minority failure to learn is caused by existing unequal encouragement in the school.

The Effective School Movement

The Effective School movement rejects the deficit argument and looks for remedy in some form of system change. The changes sought are encapsulated in the schooling process and those resources directly tied to education. The Effective School movement coincided with the general mood of reform that has informed public consciousness in the 1980s. The 'reforms' have been a conservative claim on education. The primary targets have been teachers and the 'educational establishment'. The current process began with a commission appointed by Ronald Reagan's then Secretary of Education, Terrel H. Bell. The report issued by this commission, *A Nation at Risk*, is highly inflammatory, reminiscent in many ways of McCarthyite claims of subversion by foreign agents. The inferences are there: 'If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war' (National Commission, 1983, p. 1). As the cold war against communism lost steam it was replaced with a not so cold war against the '... rising tide of mediocrity' (*ibid.*, p. 1). The risk was not subversion but an educational complicity in the failure to keep pace with Asians and West Europeans in the fight for dominance in the global economy. To overcome the risks of functional illiteracy, falling performance in scholastic achievement, the lack of 'higher order' intellectual skills, the need for more and more remedial classes (for everybody, not just the disadvantaged), and the general business and military unhappiness with the quality of performance of public school graduates, the Commission recommended more and better education. The salvation of America required: 1) more rigorous traditional curriculum combining the old basics with the new basics of computer literacy; 2) measurable standards and higher expectations — e.g., frequent standardized testing, grades based on performance, and upgraded textbooks; 3) more time on task — longer school years and school days, and mandatory homework; 4) better teaching — higher standards for admission to the profession, professionally competitive salaries, and recognition and rewards for the best in the business; and finally, 5) more demands on educators and elected officials responsible to meet these proposed goals. The Commission had more stick than carrot to its Report.

The Effective School movement latched on to some of the reform thinking. The thrust was that if advantaged youth go to bad schools, the poor — and especially the minority poor — go to much worse ones. And further, the compensatory approach not only failed to help the minority poor, it likely made matters worse for them. The late Ronald Edmonds was an acknowledged leader in the Effective Schools movement. He disputed the importance of outside-of-school factors on student performance and pointed to research that clearly indi-

cated, '*School response to family background* [emphasis his] is the cause of depressed achievement for low-income and minority students' (Edmonds, 1984, p. 37). Edmonds' synthesis of the research findings led him to define the following as characteristics of an Effective School for disadvantaged minorities: 1) strong administrative leadership; 2) high expectations from students; 3) a safe and orderly environment; 4) an emphasis on basic skills; and 5) frequent monitoring of pupil progress using measurable curriculum-based criterion-referenced evaluation (Edmonds, 1979, 1984). The thrust of the Effective School is to provide the minority with what has been proposed and provided for the advantaged. It is directed at improving the delivery of services; it is not directed at changing the nature of schooling.

The Achievement Council is a California-based organization promoting Effective School principles. One of the distinctive features of the Achievement Council is its strong Chicano leadership which distinguishes it from efforts that had focused almost exclusively on Blacks. The distinction may not signify a difference because the program emphasis closely parallels Effective School activities. The Achievement Council responds to the data that have been presented above. Chicano and other minority students are far behind advantaged populations in school achievement and twenty-five years of compensatory education has not enabled them to catch up. The Council identifies the following points as 'roots of underachievement': an unchallenging curriculum with tracking for 'low ability' students, fewer able and experienced teachers, ill-prepared and often culturally unaware administrators, inadequate services, and low teacher expectations (Haycock and Navarro, 1988). The Achievement Council's prescription for success follows logically from the diagnosis of the problem — a determined principal, demanding teachers, a rich and rigorous core curriculum, parents as partners of teachers, support services for students and teamwork between administrators, teachers, students, and parents (Haycock and Navarro, 1988).

The Achievement Council points to some significant changes among some of California's 'worst' high schools once the proposed principles were transformed into action. Sweetwater High School and Claremont Middle School are two that have been 'turned around'. Sweetwater High School is located in San Diego County and is predominantly Latino (Chicano). Under the leadership of a strong principal it has gone from a compensatory-oriented school to one where educational excellence is promoted. The school now emphasizes academics and its college preparatory courses are jammed. 'A key to Sweetwater's move up has been the elimination of remedial math courses, as well as auto shop and home economics, and a goal of at least 50 per cent Latino enrollment in Advanced Math and Science courses' (Haycock and Navarro, 1988, p. 26). Also featured is an independent study, work-at-your-own pace computer program for potential dropouts. The positive changes include: more Sweetwater students took Scholastic Achievement Tests (SATs) than any other school in the district, many of the graduating class won scholarships and grants, and for the first time in its history more than half of the graduating class went on to college. These changes are attributed to the implementation of Effective School principles (Haycock and Navarro, 1988).

Claremont Middle School in California was once a dumping ground for troublesome low achievers. It was given a new principal. Six years later that school has also been transformed. Using Achievement Council principles, label-

Table 10.12: A comparison of CTBS results — eighth grade, Clearmont Middle School, 1983–86 (in percentiles)

	Reading	Language	Math	Science	Social Science
1983	36	38	37	39	46
1986	70	65	65	62	65

Source: Haycock and Navarro (1988)

ing students as inadequate learners has been discontinued and with that low expectations from students. Remedial courses have been eliminated. In place of a compensatory approach an orientation toward achievement has led to the following accomplishments: institution of a core academic course, individualization of instruction, participation of parents in school and in their children's education, and teamwork among teachers. Test scores at Claremont have risen sharply. In 1983, in the five basic academic subjects tested in the California Test of Basic Skills the highest percentile score for Claremont's eighth graders was 46. Three years later, the lowest eighth grade score was at the 62nd percentile (see Table 10.12).

The Effective School's orientation to bilingual education departs markedly from the compensatory approach. A non- English-speaking and limited-English-speaking student is not perceived to have a handicap, even though the goal is to integrate the non- and limited-English-speaker into the educational mainstream by moving them systematically to a mastery of English. For that to happen, the principles applied to Effective Schools in general, are applied specifically to bilingual instruction. When those principles are scrupulously followed the results have been quite positive.

> A close examination of one particular effective school [not Claremont], serving more than 50 per cent Mexican American students with limited English proficiency and low socioeconomic status indicated that goals and objectives along with grade-level expectations were clear. In most curricular areas, rich Spanish-language materials were utilized on a continuum of Spanish-to-English instruction. The school was in the lowest quartile of district schools in SES but in the top quartile in achievement as measured by district proficiency tests ... the school staff worked together ... to improve instruction ... The emphasis [was] on ... continual instructional improvement. (Garcia, 1988, p. 390)

In this school, bilingual and monolingual teachers collaborated for total school ownership of the program. 'In addition one-third of student participants were non-Hispanic furthering an adoption of program ownership by non-Hispanic parents' (Garcia, 1988, pp. 390–1). By enriching the curriculum and elevating the standards, an Effective School bilingual program simultaneously led to higher academic performance as measured by standardized proficiency tests and built a constituency among monolingual non-Hispanic parents. Reducing divisiveness is an attribute of the Effective School that is not to be found in compensatory programs.

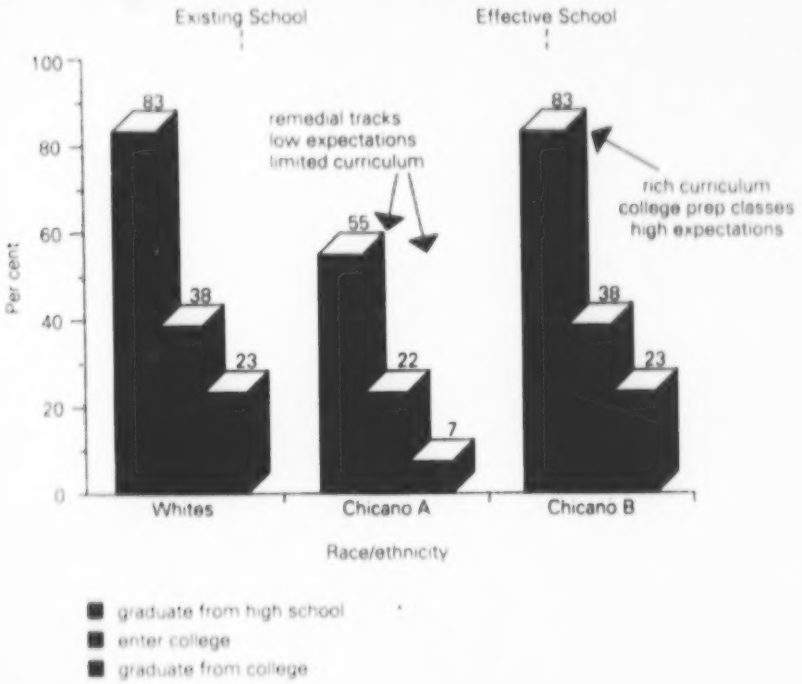
Although affirmative action is not an articulated component in the Effective Schools strategy, there is more than implicit commitment to increasing minority leadership in schools. Because of the emphasis on standards, however, there is also an insistence on high quality of performance. The internal logical problem for the Effective School is its strict adherence to existing standards. With that approach, equal representation in teaching and administration would have to be postponed until the Effective School is universal and in operation long enough for all students to have profited from its cumulative benefits. There is a contradiction between an insistence on traditional standards and the desire to have more minority teachers that is largely left unattended by the Effective School.

The elimination of tracking and the instilling of high teacher expectations for students are crucial elements in the Effective School thinking. Tracking (and ability grouping) are processes used to provide students an education commensurate with alleged level of current functioning and a decreed potential for growth. The level of assignment is highly correlated with background factors, and students in different tracks get different educations. The differences in curriculum and nature of instruction are extensive. Their extent have been carefully chronicled in recent years (Oakes, 1985). Compensatory education is consistent with tracking, but the Effective School advocate sees tracking as a major structural impediment to minority school success.

Throughout the Effective School's limited history the concern has been with the treatment students receive in the classroom. The strong leadership, the rich curriculum, the collaboration between teachers, and teacher with parents, are all designed to bring about better instruction (see Figure 10.3). A vital component is the expectations that teachers have of students. Although often reduced to a slogan -- expect more, get more; expect less, get less — there is much more to teacher expectations than that. A considerable body of knowledge has been developed on which programs can be based. The importance of teacher expectations has been both hailed and ridiculed. The most celebrated experiment that claimed strong student effects from raised teacher expectations (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) was highly controversial (Elashoff and Snow, 1971). But as the dust settled and data were accumulated, a consensus has been reached — teachers beliefs about student abilities do influence student performance. The influences are not all-powerful — teachers expectations do not affect all students nor is the effect found in all situations, but differing expectations lead to very different classroom practices. That is, students who are expected to achieve do more meaningful things, have more autonomy, are more often challenged to think, are encouraged to self-evaluation, receive honest feedback, and get more respect. Students expected to perform poorly are the Rodney Dangerfields of education. They get no respect (Cooper and Good, 1983; Good and Brophy, 1986).

The Effective School is for change, but for a very restricted change. The change advocated is extension, not reformation. The Effective School aspires for the disadvantaged the same curriculum, support, and expectations of success the advantaged have always had. The criticism of education or other institutions by the Effective School proponents are directed neither at the size of the pie nor the baker. The objections are to the servings. The Effective School is an argument for a larger slice of the pie. The focus has been on getting a fair share of university admissions (based on merit) and let things go from there. The inescapable inference is that if more Chicanos graduate from the university and from

Figure 10.3 Chicano school performance: Existing v. Effective School



college, the entire community will also benefit. The income base of the community will be raised, its poverty reduced, hope will replace hopelessness, and even crime will somehow be reduced. The knowledge and the resources that knowledge brings will ineluctably extend to the entire community. It would be hard to dispute that if successful in its mission, the Effective School approach will reduce the incidence of poverty in the Chicano community.

There are dangers inherent in the strategy that have been ignored. William Pink summarizes criticisms of the Effective School movement. He faults it for:

> 1) not developing a single definition of an effective school; 2) using different selection criteria to identify schools for study (e.g., random vs. purposeful selection) and for not comparing 'effective' with 'average' schools; 3) using different instrumentation, and in some cases different methodological paradigms, to generate and analyze data; 4) using only correlational data where causality was specified; 5) failing to detail a definition for each of the effective schools' components such as 'strong leadership' and 'high expectations', and how each of these components is related to each other and in turn to school effectiveness; 6) failing to specify which instructional strategies are effective for which students; 7) failing to explore how the effective school components were originally

developed in those schools in which they were observed; and finally 8) failing to explore how the effective schools' components can be successfully transported to another building (1988, p. 201).

There is no assurance that the Effective School can be generalized or that it can sustain its gains. The successful Effective School experiments have had outstanding leadership. Whether there are enough such leaders for all schools is certainly unknown, nor can it be determined with any certainty whether that leadership can continue over a long haul or get the support it needs once education is no longer in the limelight. At the present time we do not know whether the gains cited for the Effective School are treatment effects — caused by the intervention — or selection effects of two kinds: non-representative leadership and a non-random selection of minority students.

The selection effect of students can be an important vitiating variable. Careful culling of students would make transportation from site to site exceedingly difficult. As an Effective School gets a good reputation it becomes a magnet and upwardly mobile families strive to enroll their children in it; conversely, to sustain a safe and orderly environment, undesirable students (and sometimes teachers) are sent to some less effective school. It is also possible that the gains, whatever they may be, are transient. Education reform has seen a great many breakthroughs and turnarounds that did not last very long. These cautions should not detract from what has been a very encouraging beginning. One result should never be allowed to be lost. Regardless of the ultimate fate of the Effective School, it demonstrated to a considerable degree that students — officially consigned with scientific approval to uneducability — demonstrated that they could master subjects normally only offered to the best and the brightest.

The Effective School may have some difficulties in demonstrating that it can sustain gains for minorities, but that is not where its greatest difficulties lie. The greatest problem for the Effective School is its fit in the political economy. Those who advocate the approach persistently refuse to consider the relationship of school to the work world and to dominant government policy. Although the thrust is to get *everyone* to succeed in a rigorous academic curriculum, unfortunately the world is not organized for that much academic success. The more success, the more unhappiness there will be if the work world continues in its current pattern and is unable to increase good jobs at the same rate that credentials and degrees are earned. A mismatch between too few available jobs and too many qualified applicants can be explosive. In such a situation, every good job gained by a Chicano means that an Anglo or Black or Asian comes up empty. It is because there is a willingness to accommodate a system that demands unemployment, underemployment and poverty; the Effective School is characterized here as an equal inequality strategy. Unless there is substantial growth in good jobs or improvement in transfer payments, the lowering of poverty for Chicanos must mean a rise in poverty for some other group. In fairness to proponents of the Effective School, they appear to accept the *Nation at Risk* vision of a rapidly increasing demand for a highly educated work force. At the present time that vision is not supported by either a compelling logic or by data.

The Effective School, like the the Compensatory Approach model, is top down and élitist. It has not come into existence as a response to a populist demand, although it can rightfully claim that there is increasing community

support for its activities. This support, however, is not organized nor recognized in places where key political decisions are made. Many advocates of the Effective School wistfully believe that as the ethnic/racial makeup of the country and the state changes so too will its political power structure. Undoubtedly changes will accompany demographic change but not necessarily in the direction of an equally educated society. Unless there is a substantial reorientation of priorities and political thinking, the extent of education provided children will reflect more fiscal policy than educational policy. A nation that is not willing to spend much money on education will not get an equal education society, regardless of the value systems of its educational leadership. Providing a quality education for all becomes an even greater challenge when tight budgets are confronted with a rapidly growing, largely non- and limited-English-speaking student population. These are the crucial policy issues for California's education that most directly impact Chicanos that tend to be ignored by the Effective School movement (Guthrie *et al.*, 1988). The huge immigration to California does mean California will soon be a minority state, but this may be more destabilizing than it will be constructive. As Blacks decline in numbers their leadership for equality will be diluted and there is no indication that any other ethnic group is ready to assume the historic role Blacks have played in generating political support for equality. As different minority groups vie for power and try to get a larger piece of a shrinking pie, one very distinct possibility is increased squabbling. Without more vision than the Effective School, the most likely political response to increased eligibility for a too small credential society is unhealthy division. As the middle of the economy disappears and the choices are either affluence or poverty, the most likely consequence is more abrasive division within an ethnic group as well as between ethnic groups.

The Effective School is necessarily authoritarian. A major emphasis is on strong leadership, and students succeed to the extent they follow the leader. Because so much of the program is prescribed, development is also prescribed. Today, when democratic considerations are at a low ebb, authoritarianism in the school may not be regarded as a serious deficiency. Underestimating the importance of democratic schooling could be, however, a serious mistake.

The Effective School is not only authoritarian, it is also conservative. Like all conservative strategies, its goal is to facilitate assimilation into the society. Such assimilation requires an unexamined acceptance of existing curriculum and standardized evaluation. The mad rush to erase everything real and imaginary attributed to the permissive 1960s and the deleterious effects these heady times supposedly had on schooling has led to a general acceptance of a challenging 'core' curriculum. That was the central thrust of *A Nation at Risk*. Designing a rich core curriculum is a bandwagon on which many have jumped. Mortimer Adler and some of his friends dreamed up a core curriculum, *The Paideia Proposal*, that they think would enable all individuals to develop into well-rounded 'culture carriers' who with that knowledge could work cooperatively to solve the world's most pressing problems (Adler, 1982). Allan Bloom wants an elite curriculum to exclude women and minorities, believing their inclusion has ruined the academy. His *Closing of the American Mind*, not coincidentally, has been a runaway best seller (Bloom, 1987). E.D. Hirsch believes only when heretofore excluded populations, Blacks and other minorities, become 'culturally literate' (i.e., share a common understanding), will they be able to escape poverty and

ascend to first-class citizenship. He has generated a list of what he insists is culturally necessary knowledge (Hirsch, 1988).

The need for a shared understanding is not the significant issue. An interconnected shared understanding is an essential ingredient in a quality education. At issue is the nature of that knowledge and how decisions are made regarding it. Effective School advocates believe that the curriculum served up to the affluent contributed to their affluence. Perhaps, but it is just as likely that the curriculum was organized to entertain affluence not to edify them. Furthermore, a curriculum that organizes persons to positions of superiority may not be the curriculum needed to overcome conditions of oppression. The anthropologist Jules Henry, after examining the textbooks in the 1960s concluded that students went to school to learn to be 'stupid' about: race, labor, economics, poverty, communism, and war (Henry, 1968). Frances Fitzgerald makes a similar point in *America Revised* (Fitzgerald, 1979). The Effective School 'rich' curriculum may be just that, a curriculum for the rich. It too, may be an updated education for stupidity. Because there is an unwillingness to truly examine the very hard problems the world faces, the core curriculum is likely to be a sugar-coated placebo. It is organized only for school. Textbooks,

> ... portray the world as a utopia of the eternal present — a place without conflicts, without malice or stupidity ... these bland fictions propagated for the purpose of creating good citizens, may actually achieve the opposite; they give young people no warning of the real dangers ahead. (Fitzgerald, 1979, p. 218)

Fitzgerald refers specifically to history books, but the Effective School core curriculum suffers — as do all other projected core curriculums — from a lack of reality in all subject areas.

It is difficult to get an accurate perception of reality when all the important evaluation measures are so closely linked to the classroom. Because there is no external validation — applying school-obtained knowledge to important out-of-school problems — the amount of bias in measures is difficult to determine. The Effective School strives for achievement on standardized tests that may underrate what Chicanos really know. The bias may exist in the psychometric structure of the test. It is also likely to be in reactions to the testing procedures (e.g., test anxiety).

Jaime Escalante, an outstanding Effective School educator depicted in the film, *Stand and Deliver*, organized his calculus teaching to help his Chicano and Chicana students succeed in a subject normally monopolized by Anglo students who attend high status schools. His students scored very high on the standardized test developed by the Educational Testing Service (ETS), causing the ETS to investigate and ultimately require those students to submit to brutal non-standardized retesting. Escalante did not object to the test, but to the differential treatment his students received in the testing, which he clearly believed was prejudicial along ethnic and social-class lines. Thus, Escalante, like all good Effective School educators, accepted the system's parameters, he just wanted his students to be treated no differently than advantaged students who attended highly regarded high schools. As Valencia and Aburto (this volume) underscore, he wanted to demonstrate conclusively, and he did, that Chicanos

were not only educable, but as educable as students reputed to be intellectually superior. While indeed Escalante's students appear to be as educable as youth from the most advantaged backgrounds, what he demonstrated may not be either enough or the most desirable path to take.

In sum, the Effective School movement is a promising development. Some aspects of it — high expectations and a quality curriculum — appear to be vital to any successful effort to reduce Chicano school failure. Its strength is its clarity of purpose. Its weaknesses are too narrow a focus and too imprecise actions. The strategy operates without consideration of broader political and economic issues. Because it is totally a school-centered strategy it may have even less impact on the political economy than the compensatory strategy it has moved to displace. The attack on the compensatory strategy could lead to a dismantling of categorical aid (e.g., ESEA) and the loss of revenues that those programs have brought through the hiring of community residents. Such a possibility could also lead to an even greater disparity between Chicano adults in the classroom (e.g., teacher aides) and Chicano students than currently is the case. The lack of consideration of broader issues is reflected in curriculum and evaluation. The Effective School accepts existing curriculum and evaluation and wants only an equal share of the existing world for minorities. According to current law, a fair share of admissions to the University of California would be the top 12.5 per cent of Chicanos graduating annually from California's high schools. That would require a three-fold increase in the current eligibility rate for University admission. Tripling the Chicano admission rate to the University would be a remarkable achievement, but would still leave 87.5 per cent unaccounted for. What would happen to them?

The prospects for the 12.5 per cent who conceivably get to the University because the Effective School succeeds is also in doubt. Effective School proponents are exceedingly optimistic about future opportunities for academically successful minority students. The optimism ignores important realities. The Effective School approach rose to prominence during a very conservative decade in American history and seems to have absorbed much of the orientation of that period. A very strong element in the Effective School is collaboration with business leaders, and while it is important for education to be symbiotically related to business, it is also important to have a measure of critical independence. Business leader pronouncements are not gospel; they reflect a particular slant not necessarily supportive of the political and economic health of minority communities. In planning for the future, consideration should be given to the 'sustained prosperity' during the decade the Effective School has been in existence. This prosperity not only failed to help Hispanics (and presumably Chicanos) — they got poorer (see Valencia, Chapter 1). Imagine what would have happened to Hispanics if, instead of prosperity, there had been a depression? One very distinct possibility would be a demand for greater change than is found in the Effective School. Effective School supporters claim that if Hispanics had not been assigned to unchallenging tracks and taught by teachers that expected little from them, they would have been able to benefit from the economic conditions. But the economic conditions, as good as they were, were not good enough to provide all college graduates with good jobs — as previously reported. In 1986, 20 per cent of college graduates were in jobs that required no college education. If in this period Chicanos had greater representation in the college graduate group it is very likely that their representation in less than college requirement jobs would

in all probability have been even greater since Chicanos have lower incomes for years of education than Anglos. Moreover if Chicanos were more represented in the ranks of the college graduates, Anglos would have had less representation in this advantaged group with very difficult to predict results. It is not at all clear that increased education would in itself overcome the other political advantages and sponsorships into employment that Anglos presently enjoy. Attempting to gain advantage within a political economy without a clearly defined vision and a political strategy to reach that vision is a risky proposition, at best. It is much too early to conclude that the Effective School approach will either help or hinder Chicano advancement in the political economy.

A Democratic Education and its Implications for Chicano School Success

There is no unanimity about democratic education. Dewey's, 'what the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children' (1900, p. 7), is an attempt to enlarge the concern of democracy beyond the individual. That is certainly a part of a democratic education. The foundation on which the Effective School rests is the idea that the disadvantaged minority child deserves the same education 'the best and wisest want for their children'. To that extent the Effective School is democratic. But the best and the brightest may be very wrong (see Halberstam, 1972). Amy Gutmann goes far beyond Dewey in her definition of democratic education and warns about abuses in the name of democracy.

> Citizens and public officials can use democratic processes to destroy democracy. They can undermine the intellectual foundations of future democratic deliberations by implementing educational policies that either repress unpopular (but rational) ways of thinking or exclude some future citizens from an education adequate for participating in democratic politics. A democratic society must not be constrained to legislate what the wisest parents want for their child, yet it must be constrained not to legislate policies that render democracy repressive or discriminatory. A democratic theory of education recognizes the importance of empowering citizens to make educational policy and also constraining their choices among policies in accordance with those principles — of non-repression and nondiscrimination — that preserve the intellectual and social foundations of democratic deliberations. A society that empowers citizens to make educational policy, moderated by these two principled constraints, realizes the democratic ideal of democracy. (Gutmann, 1987, p. 14)

Democratic education is persuasion rather than coercion. It is not 'kinder and gentler' authoritarianism, or even authoritarianism that can be established to be in the interest of those being led. It is not any kind of persuasion; it is universal and significant discussion about significant issues. Democratic education is neither subordinating the individual to the interest of any group, nor is it the elevation of the individual over the group. It is most certainly not everyone doing his or her

thing. Dewey's idea of voluntary association is a critical element that works only if there is persuasiveness to the association. Democratic education is both a means and an end. The means is informed debate leading to reflective action; the ends are a society 1) where decisions are made on the basis of universal participation in informed action; 2) where the majority rules only to the extent that specified rights of minorities are respected; and 3) where the decisions made equally encourage all members of the society to full participation in every facet of the society.

Shirley Engle and Anna Ochoa identify five tenets of democracy: 1) respect for the dignity of the individual accompanied by respect for differences of feelings and opinion; 2) the right of individuals and groups to participate in decisions within the society as a whole; 3) the right of all individuals to be informed — '. . . the widest and freest distribution of information to all of the people is a democratic necessity, and therefore the education of the masses is a central concern of a democracy' (Engle and Ochoa, 1988, p. 10); 4) the assumption of an open society where change and improvement are taken for granted; and 5) an independence of the individual from the group.

Presented here is a particular version of a Democratic School that embraces many of the practices of the Effective School, but not all of them. Elimination of tracking and expecting high levels of competence are indispensable to a democratic education, but these are not deemed to be sufficient for the elimination of Chicano school failure. The fundamental difference between the two strategies is in the assessment of the nature of the problem facing education. A Democratic School advocate does not believe that the problems to be solved rest solely within the school nor does he/she believe equality can be attained by extending the schooling to minorities that affluent populations presently receive. The long-term goals of change are far more ambitious in a Democratic School than in either the Compensatory or Effective School models. The day-to-day practices are no more ambitious. The problem posed in this book — Chicano school failure — is perceived to be the consequence of the failure to institute democratic schooling practices. A truly democratic school is not only an equal opportunity school, it is also one that takes into consideration poverty and other pressing world problems. One important difference between the Effective School and a Democratic School is that the latter strives for more than a redistribution of the pie; it critically examines the ingredients of the pie.

Democratic Schooling involves an articulated challenge to everyone to participate in the development of an understanding of the requirements of a democratic educational process. A Democratic School is one in which there is a conscious striving to organize all school activities toward compliance with mutually agreed-upon requirements. A Democratic School can be conceived to have four components: knowledge; participation; rights; and equal encouragement (Pearl, 1988). These components are similar to the tenets identified by Engle and Ochoa (1988).

When knowledge is addressed from a democratic perspective, a crucial question is raised: knowledge for what? And that question is an invitation to a debate. What the Effective School considers closed is wide open in the Democratic School. In a Democratic School every student is provided with sufficient knowledge to permit each to be an informed participant in debates about policies directed toward establishing world peace, overcoming poverty, preserving the

livability of the environment, and defining and achieving racial, ethnic, and gender equality. The Effective School asks adult authorities to solve the problem of inequality; in the Democratic School students are expected to play a significant role in studying the problem, proposing solutions, and acting on those proposals. The difference is active participation in the development of knowledge versus passive absorption of authority defined knowledge.

A Democratic School is not only concerned with big issues, there is also concern for individual quality of life. In a Democratic School every student is provided with the knowledge and experience to have *equal* choice in work, politics, culture, leisure and personal development (Pearl, 1972). With work, the Democratic School and the Effective School differ in that, in the latter, students are asked to help shape the configuration of work.

Equality from the Democratic School perspective moves from solely an evaluative judgment to a curricular concern. Chicano school success, for example, becomes a subject to be taught, and subsumed under it are the artificially abstracted subjects — English, social studies, math, science, foreign languages, and the arts. These same 'subjects' provide the intellectual foundation for solving other problems, but in each instance, the knowledge is developed with the problem in mind, not the other way around. Unless *all* students are taught that they are responsible for solving both their own and the world's problems and the school has the responsibility for providing them with the opportunity to develop the knowledge necessary for solving important issues, the resolution of pressing problems must be delegated to some unspecified 'others'. Unfortunately, in important areas the 'others' do not agree and they are forced to turn to the uninformed to adjudicate the differences. Ignorance does not relieve any citizen in a society that aspires to be democratic from responsibility, but merely guarantees that the final decision will not be based on knowledge or logic. Even if a group of 'super knowers' could come to a consensus on a particular matter there is no assurance that the people not involved in the decision-making would permit effective action to be taken. An uninformed electorate may not be able to solve any problems, but that ignorance does not prevent the sabotaging of solutions imposed on the ignorant by some élite. In many instances the élite-inspired solutions were wrong. The errors made by élites and sabotaged by ignorance do not constitute a defense of ignorance. The inability of élites to be right on all or even most important issues only makes the case for a Democratic School more powerful.

Chicano school failure is both a big picture and an individual concern. The knowledge developed and organized for solving the problem is presented at both levels. At one level, the student is prepared to be a citizen with responsibility for determining school policies and other policies that impinge on the issue of Chicano school failure. At the other level, all students are encouraged to succeed in all of society's legal activities and in all of society's sanctioned activities and to derive fully the benefits of citizen in a democratic school. The two levels are interrelated and are taught with the interrelationship in mind.

The issue of knowledge is a critical one for education. Two separate issues require more illumination. One, is the knowledge sufficient to meet the goal of informed citizen? The other, does the curriculum fairly treat all groups and individuals? It is hard to dispute the low level of knowledge requirement in today's schools. Almost every observer of the school finds it a stupid place

(Cusick, 1983; Goodlad, 1984; Jackson, 1986; Welsh, 1986). Reform has not made schools more intellectually stimulating; if anything, they are more vapid and deadly. Ask any high school student, 'how was school today?' and the vast majority will answer, 'borrrrring'. That response stimulates school authorities to lower intellectual demands. The Effective School seems bound and determined to make schools as deadly for the minorities as it has been for the affluent. The issue is not only that school knowledge is unengaging. It may also be off the mark. What is taught is not what people really need to know to be creative influences in the emerging world (Sirotnik, 1983). What is taught about peace, poverty, labor, race, gender, class and ethicality is both superficial and often distorted.

Peace is not an important curriculum area in US education. Most textbooks on education give it no more than a line, including it as an elective topic in social studies (Gutek, 1983; Hessong and Weeks, 1987; Johanningmeier, 1985; Johnson, Collins, Dupuis and Johansen, 1988; Levine and Havighurst, 1989; Ornstein and Levine, 1984; Provenzo, 1986; Selakovich, 1984; Smith, 1987; Walker, Kozma and Green, 1989; Wynn and Wynn, 1988). The *History-Social Science Curriculum Framework* issued by the State Department of California makes passing references to issues of war and peace but these are only incidental and tend to reinforce existing US foreign policy. The course descriptions included in the framework are designed to provide 'an integrated and sequential development' (State Department of California, 1988, p. 29). The course descriptions are intended to be merely 'illustrative' (*ibid.*, p. 29) rather than prescriptive, but these guides clearly indicate an absence of concern for preparing students to be leaders in foreign policy development. It is not until students reach the tenth grade that they begin to deal with peace issues. In this year students learn about World Wars I and II and the rise of totalitarianism under Hitler and Stalin. They are expected to discover how '... Western leaders abandoned the Polish government-in-exile and acquiesced to Stalin's demands for Poland ...', and learn about, '... the Vietnam War and its aftermath, particularly the genocide committed in Cambodia by the Pol Pot regime' (*ibid.*, p. 89). In the eleventh grade students are introduced to foreign policy. They learn about Theodore Roosevelt's '"big stick" policies ... President Wilson's Fourteen Points and the League of Nation', and from World War II they learn, '... this war taught Americans to think in global terms ... [and to] grasp the geopolitical implications of the war and its importance for postwar international relations' (*ibid.*, pp. 96–97). A major concern in the eleventh grade is on the Cold War and on the actions based on cold war thinking. In this year students are made aware of 'President Eisenhower's warning about a "military-industrial complex"' (*ibid.*, p. 98) and the impact that increased military demands have on the ability to meet civilian needs. It is at this time in a student's career that she or he learns about policy toward Latin America, '... and the spread of Cuban influence, indigenous revolution, and counterrevolution in Nicaragua and El Salvador in 1908' (*ibid.*, p. 98). Students are asked to consider foreign policy from different political party perspectives. Recommended for the concluding element of a one semester twelfth-grade 'Principles of American Democracy [course is] ... an activity in which students analyze a major social issue.... Among the topics that might be addressed are: ... nuclear arms proliferation and arms control ...' (*ibid.*, p. 107). Nowhere in this panoramic sweep of events and concepts is there a specific call for a systematic analysis of four competing approaches to foreign policy: peace through

strength (current policy), peace through multinational actions (United Nations or some extension of that approach), bi-lateral agreements (SALT and extensions of that approach), and unilateral disarmament initiatives (large-scale reduction in military expenditures).

While all students should know more about different approaches to foreign policy, Chicanos have a particular concern with peace issues. The East Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium, at which the demand for an end to the Vietnam War was made, signaled in may ways the consolidation of a Chicano consciousness (Munoz, 1989). A foreign policy dictated by overwhelming military strength could also impact heavily on Chicanos. Any unnecessary dollars spent on defense could have adverse effects on the quality of Chicano life because those expenditures could preclude funding activities that could reduce poverty, and as previously cited Chicanos are disproportionately involved in poverty.

Poverty receives an interesting treatment in education. It is a part of the curriculum but only as an historical oddity, and it is also presented as a justification for compensatory education. In the course descriptions provided in the *History-Social Science Curriculum Framework* (State Department of California, 1988), poverty crops intermittently. In the eighth grade students are expected to learn that the early years of the Republic were characterized by boom and bust that 'created both progress and poverty' (p. 71) and later, during the rise of industrialism after the Civil War, students are to be told there was a dark side to America — sweat shops, grinding impoverishment, and prejudice directed against Hispanics, Blacks, Jews and others. Toward the end of the year students learn that great strides have been made in the twentieth century to overcome poverty 'while a significant minority . . .' (p. 75) continue to be left behind.

During high school students are expected to become more analytical. Social studies in these years are designed 'to deepen and extend their understanding of the more demanding civic learnings' (p. 76). The deepening of understanding of poverty begins in the eleventh grade with an 'in-depth study . . . the Progressive Era' (p. 94) and the efforts of muckrakers, for example, Lincoln Steffens, and novelists, Upton Sinclair for instance, to awaken concern for the downtrodden and poor. Poverty again becomes a topic for discussion in connection with the Great Depression of the 1930s (also in the eleventh grade). Since World War II, poverty is treated as a minority problem, and as a minority problem it is neither accurately described nor seriously analyzed. The Poverty Program of the 1960s is given at most a quick once-over with particular interventions, such as Affirmative Action, illuminated neither by a logic nor sufficient supportive evidence for students to make sense of the efforts to reduce poverty in populations where it is concentrated. Of much greater importance is the dearth of consideration of different possible strategies for the elimination of poverty. This is particularly true today when there is virtually no political debate of alternative approaches to any social problem. Not too long ago progressive taxation or other governmental interventions were given some consideration as measures to improve the lot of those at the bottom of the economic heap. Now, no idea is floated until there is substantial evidence of an already existing large-scale support. Notions and visions that stimulated debate twenty years ago — guaranteed annual income, stimulation of the economy, government-generated full employment and community action (Lampman, Theobold, Pearl and Alinsky, 1966) — simply are not part of the current intellectual scene.

Education textbooks are organized to produce one of two effects; poverty is either an important cause of school failure or schools are organized to keep the poor at the bottom of the social ladder (e.g., Ornstein and Levine, 1984; Smith, 1987). In one instance the inference is that compensatory education is the desired response and in the other there is the implicit conclusion that nothing can be done. And while some textbooks are critical of current school practices there are virtually no practical suggestions for improving schooling. Receiving no mention is the idea that poverty should be part of the curriculum and students should be challenged to review and evaluate alternative solutions as they struggle to develop solutions of their own.

The environment has become increasingly a topic of class discussion. As early as the fourth grade the *History-Social Science Curriculum Framework* (State Department of California, 1988) calls for children in California schools 'to explore the relationship between California's economic and population growth in the twentieth century and its geographical location and environmental factors' (p. 50). Textbooks on social studies in the elementary school subsume the environment under the study of geography. Human alteration of the environment for good and bad are briefly and superficially considered in elementary school. Energy is a topic to be considered. The proposed curriculum does not do what Schunke insists is needed.

> The world is facing a number of energy problems such as dwindling fossil fuels, increasing energy costs, the nuclear controversy, energy-related environmental problems, and the unequal distribution of energy resources throughout the world. These and other problems require confrontation and resolution. (Schunke, 1988, p. 73)

Consideration of energy or any other environmental problem is not likely to improve the lot of Chicanos. When the environmental movement caught the imagination of Americans, it displaced concern for the plight of minorities. And while Chicanos and other minorities tend to suffer the most from environmental devastation — working in unsafe conditions, living in and about toxic waste, suffering the most during periods when energy costs rise, etc., it is also true that Chicanos can be the victims of environmental action. A recommendation in the *History-Social Science Curriculum Framework*, calls for an examination of 'the conflict between increased economic growth and environmental priorities' (State Department of California, 1988, p. 78). This conflict often translates into livelihood (jobs) versus livability (the environment). Chicanos have difficulty getting jobs when unemployment is low. When the economy is restricted because of environmental considerations those who have the greatest difficulty securing employment suffer the most. Asking students to invent a full-employment, non-poverty economy that sustains a healthy environment is never a consideration in current curriculum frameworks.

The argument of ideological bias in the curriculum designed to reproduce class, gender and racial inequality is substantive. It is not merely that issues of justice are inadequately treated in the curriculum, school practices reinforce unequal treatment (Apple, 1979; Friere, 1985; Giroux, 1981). The argument goes like this: 'Schools are not insulated from racism, sexism, classism, and handicapped in society. They mirror these forms of social stratification, and in several

ways contribute to their reproduction' (Grant and Sleeter, 1985, p. 142). Research tends to support lack of equality in curriculum. Subtly, and not so subtly, students learn that the 'most important things are done by white, wealthy men; that students have little power to shape the conditions of institutions within which they live; and that injustices . . . are in the past tense and are no longer issues' (Grant and Sleeter, 1985, p. 144). Grant and Sleeter examine how the most celebrated reports on educational reform have dealt with these inequalities and find them timid and superficial. For example, Mortimer Adler in *The Paideia Proposal* (1982) allows that many students grow up immersed in poverty but he does not recommend 'that schools help them critically examine this problem, its roots, and possible avenues for change' (Grant and Sleeter, 1985, p. 150).

Probably the most dramatic evidence of exclusion of Chicanos from the curriculum is found in E.D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy* (1988). Hirsch, like Adler, calls for a common core of knowledge that all in the society must know if they are to be 'culturally literate'. He and a few colleagues develop a listing of critical knowledge consisting of approximately 5,000 names, dates, quotations, events, etc. In that enormous inventory the word Chicano is included but, apart from Joan Baez, no Chicanos or Chicanas. John Wayne is on the list, as is Shirley Temple and Babe Ruth and Superman. Not to be found in this compendium of *What Every American Needs to Know* (the subtitle of Hirsch's book) are the likes of Ernesto Galarza, Tomás Rivera, Luisa Moreno, Josefina Fierro, the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, or Cesar Chavez. It is not only Chicanos that are excluded from this list but virtually all Latinos. Laurel and Hardy and W.C. Fields are there, but not Cantinflas — the Mexican Charlie Chaplin. Of course, the non-Mexican Charlie Chaplin made it. Benito Juarez receives no mention, while Davy Crockett, Bing Crosby, Al Capone, and John Dillinger and even Archie Bunker get included — some might conclude that is because he helped create the list. In this instance, Chicanos receive very much worse treatment than do Blacks. Hirsch includes a number of distinguished Black writers — Maya Angelou, Countee Cullen, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Gwendolyn Brooks, Langston Hughes; some Black musicians are in the list — Louis Armstrong, Scott Joplin, Ella Fitzgerald, Chuck Berry (curiously Duke Ellington and Count Basie are out); a sprinkling of Black scientists — Benjamin Banneker and George Washington Carver; and assorted social activists — Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Paul Robeson (who could have been listed as an athlete and artist as well). Making Hirsch's list is a distinguished Black educator, Mary McLeod Bethune, a community leader, Ralph Bunche, and a sampling of athletes — Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, Jackie Robinson, Hank Aaron, Muhammad Ali. Nowhere to be found are such Hispanics as Carlos Fuentes or Gabriel Garcia Marquez and countless other artists, scholars, political leaders, even athletes. The only Latin Americans that Hirsch feels are worthy learning about are Diego Rivera and Fidel Castro.

The absence of a Chicano body of knowledge in the curriculum is a contributing factor to Chicano school failure but how much the addition of a number of names sporadically thrown about in unconnected bits and pieces would help is not at all clear. Many of the Blacks Hirsch recognizes are included in the curriculum and their inclusion has not materially improved school performance of Blacks. The arbitrary and somewhat capricious identification of vital know-

ledge is a problem no matter who or what is included. Knowledge, like everything in education, becomes universally appreciated when that knowledge is used to solve important individual and social problems. Hirsch makes claims for the utility of his definition of 'cultural literacy'. But the claims ring hollow; there are no specific problems that he shows will be solved with his notions of common knowledge. How does knowing of the existence of Jimmy Stewart (included by Hirsh) aid us in anything other than trivia? Why should Jimmy Stewart be on the list and Gary Cooper and Henry and Jane Fonda excluded? That the Hirsch book could have received some critical acclaim is an indication of the inadequacy of the debate over necessary knowledge. That debate will not be improved by experts writing better books. That debate will be improved by involving a much wider range of people in the discussions about necessary knowledge. The decisions made about curriculum must be far more democratic than is currently the case. In Democratic Schooling the debate about necessary knowledge is ongoing and unending. Inequality becomes a major part of the curriculum, and the nature of its existence is examined in depth as are all plausible solutions. The debate is democratic when everyone participates with equal power and access to knowledge.

Democratic participation is equal involvement in decisions that affect one's life. In Democratic Schooling, students and parents are deeply involved in decisions about curriculum, discipline, budgets, co-curricular activities, school organization, and selection of staff and administrators. Their opinions are taken seriously. While both Democratic Schooling and the Effective School require strong teacher and administrative leaders, the leadership is very different. The Democratic Schooling leader is a leader to the extent that she or he is able to persuade with logic and evidence. One standard against which a democratic leader is judged is acceptance of his or her authority. If no one voluntarily follows, she or he is no leader. Winning a following is not sufficient; that following has to be won on the basis of the quality of the argument. Such leadership generates an atmosphere of reasonability and mutual responsibility. The Effective School leader sets the tone and commands. There is little in that system that is negotiable. The curriculum and the standards are fixed. Leadership in such instances is efficiency. There is shared decision-making, but only on the means to non-negotiable goals.

The two approaches differ in their understanding of accountability. The authoritarian Effective School is accountable upwards — students to the teacher, teacher to the principal, principal to the school superintendent, and ultimately to national interest. In Democratic Schooling, accountability goes downward — the ultimate determination is made by the student. Being accountable downward is defending with logic and evidence all requests made of students, to students. The strength of the school is the quality of the arguments. In both types of schools, effort is made to generate loyalty and student ownership of the process. In the Effective School, the loyalty is won with immediate payoffs in improved performance on standardized achievement tests and the long-term return is promise of economic success. In Democratic Schooling, the immediate pay-off is political influence in classroom activities (although academic performance would be an important consideration in the decision-making); the long-term pay-off is an extension of this gratification. Participation is intended to bring about a change in definition of self, from a less self-centered to a more citizen-centered individual.

In this sense, participation is a logical extension of cooperative learning that is featured in some Effective Schools.

Student rights are important in a Democratic School. Included in these rights are: 1) freedom of expression — the right to express unpopular political sentiments and disagree with the teacher and other school authorities; 2) privacy — protection from prying and intrusion into personal space; 3) a due process system of presumption of innocence, the right not to testify against oneself, the right to counsel, the right to trial before an independent tribunal, and protection against cruel and unusual punishments; and 4) the right not to be a captive audience. Neither the Effective School nor the Compensatory Approach gives much attention to student rights, which are often sacrificed in the interests of efficiency. Even when fully understood and appreciated rights are not easily practiced; there are strains between different democratic requirements. Universal education and the right not to be a captive audience do not fit neatly together, and such strains test the leadership of the teacher and administrator. In democracy, the test is whether the authority can persuade rather than coerce. It is the lack of serious effort to be persuasive on student rights that makes the Effective School an authoritarian school. For rights to be a reality, they must be prominent in the curriculum. It is inconceivable that anyone educated about democracy and rights would elevate, for example, Oliver North to a hero status.

Equal encouragement in all legitimate activities of a society is a democratic requirement that addresses both the distribution of benefits in the society and the limitations in the opportunity structure. In Democratic Schooling there would be considerable discussion and experimentation with three different understandings of equality: equal treatment, equal result, and equal encouragement. The first of these is espoused by the Effective School whose approach calls for treating all students in an identical manner. Equal results require some form of redistribution, either voluntary or confiscatory, whereby some assets, wealth or special services, of the advantaged are transferred to the disadvantaged. The Compensatory Approach is a very modest and quite flawed form of redistribution. The third would offer such treatment to encourage all to maximum competence. Each of these requires thorough examination of a range of policies including: wage policies, tax policies, the role of government in the creation of services, or in the redistribution of wealth and income, university admission policies, and credentialing policies. Currently there is precious little discussion about equality of any kind anywhere in our society, and most of it is acrimonious attacks on limited efforts to ameliorate underrepresentation of women and minorities.

The requirements of democracy enter into every phase of education — school structure, curriculum, classroom management, discipline, and governance. Democratic Schooling is organized on the premise that Chicano students fail in school because Chicanos are victims of undemocratic practices in and out of school. The lack of democracy extends far beyond a denial of schooling affluent students receive. More important, by far, is the exclusion from the decision-making that determines the education a person receives. In Democratic Schooling situations are created that enable the powerless to become powerful — powerful in the sense that they can understand the systems that act on them sufficiently well to change them in a defensible and predictable direction. If the goal of the Effective School is to master academics, the goal of Democratic schooling is to put knowledge to work.

Democracy is never an all-or-nothing affair. In Democratic Schooling, democracy is conceived of as a more-or-less proposition. The intent is not to arrive at a perfect democracy, but rather to develop one that is more equitable and better. Today, some populations in the society get closer to the benefits of democracy than do others, and when they do they build barriers that make it more difficult for the others to enjoy that which an imperfect democracy provides. Such a distortion is discussed in Democratic Schooling as a prologue to developing in students the need to consider large systems, because only when democracy is considered as a total system will it be possible for the excluded to be included. When those in power create policies that deny access to the excluded, they undermine the foundations of democracy on which they stand. A Democratic School thus is one that makes the world a better place for all, but not without struggle or sacrifice. Part of Democratic Schooling curriculum is learning how to produce change democratically. In Democratic Schooling students learn not only what should be changed but how to participate in Democratic Social Change.

The basic assumption of a Democratic Social Change is that inequality is deeply imbedded in all of society's structures and only a total political strategy will lead to a significant and sustained reduction in Chicano school failure. The strategy is informed by the belief that all change is political and that only democratic political change can reduce inequality because it is only in democracy that there is an interest in equality. Turning to democracy at this time may appear to be a futile endeavor in that commitment to democratic understanding is crumbling almost everywhere. Not only is there little concern for the democratic concept but there is little interest in democratic activities. Fewer and fewer people vote with each succeeding election. It is possible to extrapolate to a time when an election will be called and nobody will come. Democracy is a meaningless irrelevant term to school children; it never has had a footing in US education. And yet, unless there is a turn to democracy, the conditions of inequality that introduced this essay (and the other conditions that are related to it: a deteriorating environment, a non-responsive government, an inability to achieve non-violent resolution to international dispute, runaway growth in crime and substance abuse, etc.) can only get worse. If democracy does not inform education, some action distinctly undemocratic will.

Democracy is important to education because education can never be understood on its own terms (as much as the Effective School and Compensatory Approach educators would like that to happen). Education always is, and always should be subsumed under national purposes. Joel Spring generates a list of national purposes that education has been required to serve (Spring, 1985). In the 1950s a right-wing initiative directed schools to win the war in space. In the 1960s a liberal Democratic administration appealed to schools to overcome racism and poverty. In the 1970s the Nixon-Ford administrations called on education to overcome unemployability (as distinct from unemployment) with expanded vocational education. And in the 1980s education was reformed so that the United States can regain its rightful position in the world economy. 'In none of these eras did the public schools win the military arms race, end poverty, or cure unemployment . . . Education has been a political football and has been made to serve special interests' (Spring, 1985, pp. 86–7). Education as a subservient in-

stitution must continue until a democratic education itself is raised to the level of 'national interest'. Anything less will be a repetition of failed efforts.

The case for a Democratic Social Change stems from two historical sources: social reproduction theorists and social reconstruction theorists. The social reproduction theorists (Apple, 1979; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Giroux, 1981) present both logic and considerable evidence that schools reproduce the economic structure and ideological foundations of a society. Schools are structured to direct students to appropriate stations in life and thereby preserve race, class, and gender inequality. According to this line of thinking students are taught to accept conditions of inequality as necessary and fair. In practice, ideological reproduction has changed over time. Once patriotism was a major emphasis of the curriculum and the teaching. Frances Fitzgerald traces the changes in history textbooks.

> Ideologically speaking, the histories of the fifties were implacable, seamless. Inside their covers, America was perfect: the greatest nation in the world, and the embodiment of democracy, freedom, and technological progress . . . . Who, after all, would dispute the wonders of technology or the superiority of the English colonists over the Spanish? Who would find fault with the pastorale of the West or the Old South? Who would question the anti-Communist crusade? (Fitzgerald, 1979, p. 10)

Today, social production is less acts of commission — the active teaching of mindless loyalty — and more acts of omission — the not teaching enough of anything, and thereby discouraging students from becoming intellectually involved with important issues. Students are taught just enough to be intellectually paralyzed.

> . . . texts have changed and with them the country that American children are growing up into. The society that was once uniform is now a patchwork of rich and poor, old and young, men and women, blacks, whites, Hispanics and Indians. The system that ran so smoothly by means of the Constitution under the guidance of benevolent conductor Presidents is now a rattletrap affair. The past is no highway to the present; it is a collection of issues and events that do not fit together and that lead in no single direction. (Fitzgerald, 1979, pp. 10–11)

Social reproduction analysts make a strong case for what schools do, whether by omission or commission, however, they leave us with very few specific practical suggestions for change. No coherent program of action stems from their analysis.

The social reconstructionists believe schools can be active initiators of social change. Although he never formally identified with the classification, the most celebrated social reconstructionist was George Counts (1932). His *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* made the case in the extreme. The argument is less outrageous when put in the context of its time. A great economic depression was sweeping the world and confidence in traditional leadership was low. Counts took the position that since some group of adults would necessarily impose themselves on the child why should it not be teachers.

> . . . if [teachers] could increase sufficiently their stock of courage, intelligence and vision [they] might become a social force of some magnitude . . . To the extent that they . . . fashion the curriculum and the procedures of the school they will definitely and positively influence the social attitudes, ideals, and behavior of the coming generation. (Counts, 1932, p. 26)

Counts believed teachers could not be greater bunglers than the financiers, politicians and businessmen who he would have them replace. He did not advocate that teachers indoctrinate students with a particular point of view, but rather offer to them 'visions'against which all 'our social institutions and practices . . . should be critically examined' (Counts, 1932, p. 27). In those dismal days, Counts consigned capitalism to history's junk heap and looked to some form of democratic collectivism for salvation. He was not particularly optimistic. His reading of history informed him that brutal oppression and injustice were the ways the American privileged responded to challenge. But he accepted Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' reading of Natural Law, 'We are all fighting to make the kind of world that we should like'. He believed that teachers were obliged to present students with a

> . . . finer and more authentic vision [if they were critical of] . . . so-called patriotic societies [which] . . . though narrow and unenlightened, . . . nonetheless represent an honest attempt to meet a profound social and educational need . . . . Only [when we as teachers offer] a legacy of spiritual values will our children be enabled to find their place in the world, be lifted out the present morass of moral indifference, be liberated from the senseless struggle for material success, and be challenged to high endeavor and achievement. (Counts, 1932, p. 52)

Counts' call for democracy is neither convincing nor operational. A more modest and defensible democratic change strategy, couched in a current context, would be a paraphrase of Counts, something like, *Dare the School Prepare Students for Democratic Citizenship?* Such a call is consistent with the State Department of California's *History-Social Science Curriculum Framework* (1988). The guidelines recommend that for the twelfth-grade course on 'Contemporary Issues', students prepare research on current social problems and present their positions at a school-wide consortium (State Department of California, 1988). A Democratic Social Change strategy would be more adventurous than that, but not much more adventurous. In a democratic strategy, more debate would be encouraged as well as action consistent with the position taken.

An education that prepares students for democratic change asks them to accept responsibility for governance in the classroom, and the issues of race, gender and ethnic equality faced by students on a daily basis. Students not only formulate tactics to deal with inequality, they also evaluate the effectiveness of their efforts. It is not expected that all students would be for equality. It is expected that in a fair and complete debate, most people will be for equality and that the will of the majority will prevail, while the rights of the minority are protected. If that is not true, we are in very serious trouble.

One basic difference between the Effective School and Democratic Schooling is the responsibility given students to define and solve the problem of

inequality. Democratic Schooling takes the Effective School notion of 'everyone can learn' and carries it one step further. If every student can learn, then every student can act independently on that learning. That additional step transcends the student from being a pawn in someone else's game to being an independent agent in the creation of the future. The next step would be to allow those students to find ways for voluntary association with others in collective action. Democracy goes an additional step: democratic citizens not only act, they also evaluate the effectiveness of that action and make the appropriate adjustments. The strategy consists of ongoing intellectual action and reflection (Freire, 1968).

A democratic education may sound too theoretical or abstract to be useful. Is there any evidence to indicate desirability and feasibility with particular relevance to minority school failure? Not surprisingly, Democratic Schooling has had far too few rigorous tests. What little there is, however, is encouraging. In the 1960s, the Upward Bound Program at the University of Oregon was an experiment in Democratic Schooling. Special admission students (i.e., poor white and minority low achievers) were challenged to be involved in the governance of the program and to participate in other school reform activities at the University. At the same time, they were encouraged to be excellent university students. Four years later most of those 'inadmissible students' graduated from the University. One who did not graduate on time was Mary Groda. She was recruited to the University from a training school for delinquent girls. She was beset with many learning difficulties and personal problems, but that did not prevent her from becoming a medical doctor. Her story is presented in the 1986 CBS film, *Love Mary*. The democratic nature of the education she received did not get much attention, nor did the fact that others in that program with equally undistinguished pre-college academic records graduated and went on to successful post-graduate careers.

What distinguished the project was that it combined a rigorous traditional curriculum with a curriculum that challenged students to create the future. The workings of the University were demystified so that students would understand the logic and functioning of the institution that they first had to survive if they were ever to change it. The project only had a few elements of Democratic Schooling and yet it succeeded beyond all expectations.

New Careers is perhaps a more spectacular example that not only assisted minorities to graduate from the University but at the same time effectively recruited underrepresented minorities into teaching and other professions. In New Careers, rather than having the applicant meet the requirements of the job, a career ladder was created — e.g., teacher aide, teacher assistant, teacher associate, teacher. The entry position required no prior skill or experience. New Careerists worked their way each step of the ladder through a combination of work experience, university courses delivered at the work site and liberal art courses at the university (Pearl and Riessman, 1965). The largest of the New Career programs was the Career Opportunity Program (COP) of the Educational Professional Development Act (EPDA) of 1967.

> The centerpiece of COP was the paraprofessional aide who was usually minority (54 per cent Black, 14.2 per cent Hispanic-American, 3.7 per cent Native American) .... Nearly nine-tenths of those enrolled were members of low-income families (88 per cent were female) ... The

> program embraced 132 separate sites, roughly 18,000 participants . . . (Carter, 1977, pp. 183–84)

The goals of the Career Opportunity Program were diverse, broad and ambitious. In retrospect, probably too broad, too diverse and too ambitious. The COP was designed to: increase underrepresented minority teachers, demonstrate that inadmissible students can succeed in higher education, lift people mired in poverty out of poverty, better meet the needs of low-income children, improve staffing in schools, and 'respond to the growing belief that the then-present designs of teacher education were inadequate, particularly in preparing teachers for the children of the poor' (Carter, 1977, p. 184).

New Careers apparently made progress on all fronts. How much progress is difficult to gauge since the program was short-lived, inconsistent within and between sites and only superficially evaluated. Despite these considerable difficulties there is powerful evidence to suggest that many minorities were recruited into teaching.

> COP was designed to serve low-income and minority adults. Nearly nine-tenths of those enrolled were members of low-income families and some seven-tenths were non-white. The continuing shortage of teachers with such backgrounds is seen, for example, in Alaska where 95 per cent of the children in the State Operated Schools were Native (Aleut, Eskimo, or Indian), while 99 per cent of the teachers at the start of the COP project were non-Native. On the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Reservations in Montana only five of the 210 certified teachers in 1970 were Indians. At their conclusion, the Alaska Career Opportunity Program (run in conjunction with Teacher Corps) will have quadrupled the number of Native teachers, while the project serving the Crow and Northern Cheyenne will have increased the number of Indian teachers tenfold.
>
> Throughout the Hispanic-American and Indian communities there was still a woeful underrepresentation of 'indigenous' teachers. In Texas and the Southwest, for example COP projects emphasized bilingual and bicultural (Hispanic) education, and in New York City, a significant focus was placed in meeting the needs of part of that city's Puerto Rican children.
>
> Of the 142 degree-earning COP participants in the Chicago project, 118 became teachers in 'target area schools', that is, in schools populated by children of low-income, minority (Black and Hispanic) background. (Carter, 1977, pp. 187, 204)

Students in the COP project did extremely well in higher education. An evaluation of four COP projects in Pennsylvania found among those

> . . . people who normally would have been rejected in a standard (college) admissions review . . . less than four per cent of all COP participants were dropped from the program for academic problems . . . in Philadelphia 85 per cent had a C average or better and 46 per cent had an average of B or higher . . . (in Philadelphia 27 students had graduated

with grade point average 3.5 or higher and been named Presidential Scholars). (Carter, 1977, p. 188)

Did COP better meet the needs of low-income children and improve staffing in schools? Again the evidence, though uneven and necessarily inconclusive, is generally positive. In the four Pennsylvania projects the Educational Research Associates of Bowie, Maryland — an independent evaluator — concluded

> the schools were affected in a positive way. [Noted were] . . . the greatly increased use of teacher aides, a significant change in the way they were used, the beneficial impact of aides on the environment (specifically in the case of Erie with a history of racial tension and violence, the reduction and ultimate disappearance of the disturbances that plagued one location), an increased leadership role for teachers, increased opportunities for minority administrators, greater dependence on local neighborhoods as a source of new teachers, and a general acknowledgment that the COP-trained teachers would be more effective than others who had entered the various systems. (Carter, 1977, pp. 196–7)

Other research also supported the notion that COP was a good way to recruit teachers.

> The COP program based at the University of North Dakota, with participants from four Indian reservation communities, provided college degrees and teacher certification for 51 new teachers of American Indian origin. Virtually all returned to their communities as full-fledged teachers, thereby creating or improving those conditions: Better relations between children and their schools, a probable slowdown in the rate of teacher turnover, teachers thoroughly attuned to children and their problems, community pride in Indian-related attitudes, and, far from least, proof that schools with Indian children could thrive with significantly larger percentages of Indian teachers. (Carter, 1977, p. 204)

Similar results were found in other communities where the racial/ethnic composition of the student body was much different than the teachers. COP teachers did more than bring a sense of the community to the schools. They were, in many other ways, excellent additions to the teaching profession. When compared with a comparable cohort of non-COP first-year teachers the COP teacher appeared to be a better teacher. On tests designed to measure teacher attitude, the COP had more positive attitudes. They performed '. . . in a more desirable manner . . . there was more interchange between student and teacher and students' talk was more responsive and extended . . . [and] more highly correlated with positive student performance' (Carter, 1977, p. 207).

The success of COP teachers did not appear to fade the longer teachers were employed. If anything the differences between COP and non-COP teachers increased in the second year of teaching.

> COP-trained second year teachers were more aware than their peers of the 'ethos' of the schools . . . and the gap [between them and the

> non-COP group] was widening . . . COP teachers tended to be more accepting of individual differences among pupils and felt a greater sense of responsibility and accountability for the pupil's progress. (Carter, 1977, pp. 209–10)

In a follow-up assessment of two bilingual programs (Crystal City and Port Isabel, Texas) the differences between the COP and non-COP teachers were even more marked, 'notably in the areas of two-way exchanges between pupils and teachers. . . . These higher standards were attributed to the unique qualities of bilingual education' (Carter, 1977, p. 210).

The impact of a New Career program can be seen after two decades. The University of Minnesota, in conjunction with many social agencies, had a New Career program, which included the COP, and twenty years after its inception efforts were made to evaluate its success. Like most other such efforts, the program participants had been poor, predominantly Black single women (welfare recipients with children). Virtually none had completed high school. Twenty years later, of the 207 persons who had been in the program, at least one had earned a doctorate, dozens had masters degrees and about half, on whom information was found, had graduated from the University. New Careerists reported that the program had changed their lives around from existences hopelessly mired in poverty to well-established ways of life (Amram, Flax, Hamermesh and Marty, 1988).

New Careers programs met some of the requirements of democratic education. The efforts to extend knowledge were not very extensive, but much of the knowledge obtained by the New Careerist and from them to those they taught, was organized in ways to be more understandable. The learning was much more active and as a consequence the participation in decisions in matters that affected the students' lives was considerable (both for the New Careerists and those they taught). Rights may have been a consideration in some New Career projects but they were not a quality emphasized in the authorizing legislation nor were they noted in any evaluative report. The most notable democratic achievement was in the area of equal encouragement. When New Careerists were given the opportunity to succeed in both higher education and in professions, they not only performed far better than expected, but they equaled or exceeded the performances of those from advantaged backgrounds.

The New Career strategy meets affirmative action objectives on the basis of merit. New Careerists earn their way up the ladder without special treatment. Moreover, the record of New Careerists raises doubts about the fairness of existing academic systems. Despite its successes, New Careers was dismantled. Recently (1988), a Task Force on Minority Teachers appointed by Secretary of Education Cavazos has recommended that 20 million dollars be appropriated every year to reinstitute a New Career strategy to facilitate the recruitment of minorities into teaching. Federal legislation and legislation in California authorizing New Career approaches are currently wending their way through the machinery. Without more democratic input such legislation is likely to suffer the fate of earlier New Career projects.

While it is undeniable that New Careers had important democratic qualities, it also is true that the programs as conceived and implemented had serious flaws. The most serious problem was an unwillingness to critically examine the fun-

damental purposes of education. New Careers burst onto the scene when the credibility of education was at its lowest ebb, simultaneously attacked from the left that called for the end of schooling, not its reform, while the right crusaded against permissiveness which was blamed for everything from the war in Vietnam to the beginnings of a drug epidemic. A serious examination of education was not undertaken then, just as today's reforms are derived from a superficial examination and analysis. New Careers, like the Compensatory Approach and the Effective School was a top-down program. It rose when an elite supported it and it fell when that elite lost interest or power. A revitalization of education, particularly an education devoted to true equal encouragement and the full realization of the potential of Chicanos, among others, requires a political constituency powerful enough to produce such an education. Anything less is not only undemocratic, it is also impossible. Whatever else is to be learned from the New Career experience that is one very important lesson. The potential political constituency for a truly democratic education comes from an alliance of professionals, paraprofessionals, students and their parents and others in the community who recognize the critical need for a democratic education.

The democratic influence of New Careers, while noteworthy, was transient and limited. Many individual teachers have come closer to the ideal. Those experiences need to be accumulated and contrasted with the experiences of the other models. One dimension of New Careers is very important: it evaluates performance in real life situations which standardized evaluation techniques simply cannot do. The New Career experience raises questions about the validity of standardized measures. In real-life situations New Careerists performed much better than they did in the confines of the classroom on very similar challenges (Carter, 1977).

A Democratic Schooling strategy requires the same dedication that is found in the Effective School. It would, however, be no more difficult to institutionalize. Unless a strong political force can be mobilized, both models will meet a great deal of resistance. The Effective School can count on more help from the business community than will be available to Democratic Schooling, but whether business support is an important ingredient in a campaign to reduce Chicano school failure is yet another unknown.

In one vital capacity the true test of Democratic Schooling has not been made. Democratic Schooling is brought into existence by democratic means. For that to happen a political constituency for Democratic Schooling must be mobilized. At present, a democratic-initiated education is a largely unexamined alternative to authoritarian education. The constituency organized to implement Democratic Schooling also would have to promote companion policies that would change among other things the priorities of a society, the configuration of work, and the admission standards to the university.

Increasing university admissions present a peculiar political problem for Chicano success. That problem underscores the rethinking required for a political revival on which Chicano school success rests. At the present time, university growth places Chicano aspiration in opposition to those who oppose such growth because of difficulties brought to local communities, thus rupturing what had been a 'progressive' coalition. A New Career strategy would be uniquely helpful here because it would allow far more people to be admitted to the university without overburdening existing physical plants. Bringing a university

education to the place where people work increases the likelihood for enlarging the coalition in support of equality in education. Presently that coalition is weak and not gathering strength.

While much less is known about Democratic Schooling than the other models, the inherent problems with the others recommend that more study be given to a democratic alternative. One aspect of Democratic Schooling deserves emphasis: it, far more than either of the two other models, rejects cumulative deficit as the cause of Chicano school failure. Because this position posits inequality in institutions, its actions can be introduced at any time and for any age student. The argument advanced is that if the institutional impediments to success are removed, Chicanos — or any other victim of unfair treatment — will be able to keep up with those who have not been unjustly treated. That orientation not only led to the invention of New Careers and Upward Bound at the University of Oregon, it also was instrumental in the success of those programs.

In conclusion, when the problem of Chicano school failure is cast in the broadest social context, we are left with much that is not yet known. Some recent attempts at an Effective School provide powerful evidence that Chicano students can master college preparation academic subjects, if given a reasonable opportunity to learn. What is not as yet known is whether: (a) the material they are taught is important or even useful, (b) the existing political economy has the capacity to absorb a rapid increase in college educated persons, or, if that is not the case, (c) there is the political will and know-how to create a work world that is consistent with a learned society. There is a great need to broaden the range of experiments and directly connect these experiments to public policy.

The relationship between the educational research findings and school policy is in itself a research question that needs to be explored much more completely and intensively than it has been. The relationship is confounded by two distinctly different research problems. One deals with the nature of educational research and its lack of connection to policy considerations. The other is research into the political factors that surround policy decisions. Educational research, by and large, is remotely if at all connected to educational policy. The research suffers from a number of serious deficiencies, among the most glaring being: (1) a lack of synchronization between what is most important in schools and what is most important for researchers — the schools and the researcher are often not on the same page; the concern of the academic researcher is very largely determined by what referee journals accept for publication, while schools are most concerned with meeting very specific educational goals; (2) even when generally aligned on a particular issue, differences in understanding of the nuances of the issues and differences in basic loyalties between school personnel and researchers generate difficulties in design and interpretation of findings; (3) academic research is too limited in scope — a necessary condition of 'good' research is either statistical or experimental control over variables, but the school is an extraordinary complex place and control represents distortion of reality and that in turn makes translation of the research findings into policy exceedingly difficult; (4) most educational research is organized into rather short time frames, the results obtained are often transient, and when implemented as school practice fade away, thus contributing to the suspicion that practitioners have of researchers; (5) research findings are often ungeneralizable as policy — results may be obtained under impossible to duplicate conditions, e.g., the teachers and administrators used in research

may be far superior to staff that would have to translate the results into regularized practice, or the excitement and fanfare generated by research cannot be maintained once incorporated into the ordinary day-to-day work schedule.

What makes the relationship between research and educational policy even more difficult is the political acceptability of research findings. As Galileo learned in 1633, findings obtained from careful research can get the researcher in trouble if the findings conflict with the belief structure of established authority. Education, being a political entity responds to political pressures; research findings that are not supported politically will not be considered. Rarely is the offending researcher tried, as Galileo was, by an inquisitional body; more often the findings are ignored until the time they become politically acceptable, that is, until a large enough political constituency has been mobilized to force a reconsideration. The New Career program illustrates the relationship between research and social policy quite vividly. In every possible way the research supported New Careers. Not only was it demonstrated that New Careers met its intended goals, but it was further shown that the gains from the project could be sustained for long periods of time. It was also shown that the New Career approach could be carried out successfully in many places with a wide range of populations, however, that success had little long term impact on educational policy.

> *Nothing Fails Like Success.* Success is meaningless if the game has been changed. It makes no difference how good a Mahjong player you are if no one plays Mahjong anymore, and that is what happened to New Careers and other paraprofessional programs. (Pearl, 1981, p. 38)

When researching the political implications of research findings on educational policy, two very different problems arise. One involves the sustaining interest in a society that is increasingly titillated by new fads; such a society is without memory and without vision. It knows neither where it has been, nor where it is going, and woe unto anyone who raises questions about either the past or the future. The research impact on educational policy under such conditions is not likely to be significant or long lasting. Perhaps of even greater importance is the ability of the society to tolerate the implications of the research findings. Research findings that if utilized would increase educational attainment in a society that cannot integrate more educational success into its economic structure is not going very far. A society that aspires to policy based on knowledge must build knowledge into its decision-making systems. Of the three approaches discussed in this chapter — the Compensatory, the Effective School and the Democratic Schooling approaches — only the last makes that a conscious part of its program. Similarly, a society gets an education it is willing to pay for, and research findings that in effect call for policies more expensive than a society wishes to spend are not going to get implemented. In that sense it should be quite clear that from a political-economic perspective, changes in education in California and elsewhere are likely to depend much more on the ability to develop a large enough constituency to overturn the constitutional restrictions on taxation than it will on any specific educational practice based on research findings. The relationship between calls for educational change and an effective political constituency is perhaps the single most important unknown. Connecting education and political action is a characteristic that only a Democratic Schooling for Democratic Social Change model has.

Chicano school failure and Chicano school success are inextricably linked to larger complexly interrelated social issues — the shape of the political economy, the condition of the environment, the lingering and at times festering conditions of race and ethnic hatred and sexual domination, the ever-changing face of international relations, the use and misuse of technology — and unless these issues are an integral part of the education Chicanos and all others receive, educational progress for Chicanos will be slow, uneven, and most likely illusory.

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